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THE ARMY.

IT so happened that on the same evening that the officers and troops engaged in the Ashantee war received the thanks of Parliament, the SECRETARY FOR WAR made his annual speech on the general position and prospects of the army. The House of Commons passed from paying honour to the gallant little band which has lately shown what English troops are when actively employed to the consideration of the cost, the composition, and the distribution of the whole body on which this band has reflected so much honour. Each set of the thoughts awakened in this way helped the other. The general consideration of the army recalled the fact that the troops engaged in the Ashantee war were not picked troops, selected for a difficult enterprise. The regiments employed happened to be regiments of great traditional fame, but they were sent merely because they were first on the rota for service abroad. They were but the kind of article which the British army is able to supply in its ordinary course. Had different regiments been on the rota, those regiments would have been sent without the slightest misgiving on the part of the authorities lest they should not be fit for their work. In the same way, although the officers other than those in command of the regiments sent out were of course selected, they were selected from the army at large. It was not a few adventurous spirits who wished to go. Hundreds had to be disappointed in order that ten might be satisfied with the coveted favour of being allowed to fight a dangerous campaign in one of the worst climates in the world. Sir GARNET WOLSELEY was chosen simply because he was believed beforehand to be what he has since shown himself, exactly the right man for the task. His selection was not due to interest or friendship, or any of those innumerable motives which in old days used to determine the choice of British commanders and the fate of British troops. He was sent simply because it seemed wise to send him, and the whole army may be said to have contributed him to the needs of this particular service. On the other hand, when we look at the Army Estimates and find that the army, after successive Ministries have tried their hand at reduction, costs fourteen millions sterling and a half annually, and when we are tempted to ask what we get for the money, it is some satisfaction to be able to think that what more we get may be obscure, but that at least we have got an army the first three regiments of which selected by accident may be trusted to behave like the troops that have just fought the Ashantee war; that an English commander can be found to exhibit a scientific and a practical knowledge of his profession, and a comprehension of the whole art of war, which, even when the highest German standard of excellence is taken, may safely be pronounced excellent; that the army contained hundreds of officers equally competent and ardent to share in the labours and face the trials of the expedition; that the men followed their officers with absolute confidence; that the commander of the forces received not merely official, but warm personal, encouragement from the Duke of CAMBRIDGE, and that the arrangements made by the home authorities for stores, supplies, medicines, and every comfort of the soldier were all that could be desired. For our fourteen millions and a half we get, besides irregular forces, about 130,000 regular troops, which seems at first sight a small result for the money, and although reasoning can teach us that this small result must under the peculiar circumstances of England be necessarily expensive, it is satisfactory to have it so clearly demonstrated that for our money we have got an army sound in spirit,

well officered, ably commanded, excellently provided, and, as was said of a British force on a memorable occasion, "able to do anything and go anywhere."

Mr. DISRAELI, in moving the vote of thanks in the Commons, gave a somewhat elaborate history of the Ashantee expedition, in order to lead to his conclusion that glory is not won by great armies alone. The comparison, indeed, which Mr. DISRAELI made between the adventures of Sir GARNET WOLSELEY and those of CORTES and PIZARRO is one that must have occurred to many minds, and not perhaps without suggesting the anxious thought how it has happened that the countrymen of CORTES and PIZARRO could now no more carry on a successful Ashantee expedition than they could fly. Mr. DISRAELI did, of course, ample justice to the difficulties, and especially the natural difficulties, that had to be encountered, and to the skill by which they had been overcome. He also did justice to the promptitude with which the late Government despatched white troops when Sir GARNET WOLSELEY asked for them in consequence of his finding native levies utterly useless. Mr. DISRAELI naturally assumed that the original plan of the late Government was to fight the war with black troops under English officers. But Mr. GLADSTONE disabused him of this notion. The Government had no precise plan. They really knew nothing about the Gold Coast, and could get no information worth having. There were a few British troops on the Gold Coast, and it was not until last summer was far advanced that the Ministry abandoned the hope that this force, aided by the natives opposed to the Ashantees, would suffice to settle the questions in dispute; and except that Captain GLOVER's expedition was authorised, nothing was done until in August Sir GARNET WOLSELEY was selected to go to the Gold Coast and see what was to be done. Sir GARNET WOLSELEY was not appointed to command an expeditionary force, but an expeditionary force was sent to be under his command. Although, however, the whole decision as to what course was to be adopted was left to Sir GARNET WOLSELEY, yet the regiments ultimately sent from England were at once told off to join the expedition if necessary, and arrangements were made for their transport, so that everything was ready when the despatches were received saying that the help of English troops was indispensable. The late Government has been so much abused that it is only fair to notice that on this occasion they did everything they could do, if the war was to be undertaken at all, to make it short and effectual. At the Mansion House on Tuesday Sir GARNET WOLSELEY expressed his conviction that the war could not have been avoided, that it was the result of a deliberate plan of the Ashantee KING. Large stores of powder and munitions of war had been collected for years previously to hostilities being commenced; and as each Ashantee KING is expected to distinguish himself by one successful war, the present monarch determined to win glory by crushing the Fantees, in spite of the protection bestowed on them by the English, whose military reputation had almost faded away on the Gold Coast. The war was thus forced on Sir GARNET WOLSELEY as acting for the English Government. The difficulties, especially of transport and climate, with which his troops had to contend, appear even now to oppress the mind of the commander, who is better able to judge than any one else what his men had to face, through what discouraging embarrassments his officers had to win their way, and what he owed to the courage, the patience, the skill, and the enterprise with which he was supported on the part of all concerned throughout his arduous undertaking.

Mr. HARDY approached the difficult subject of the Army Estimates in the mode which became a prudent man

absolutely new to the duties he has undertaken. He has moved as far as possible in the groove marked out for him by his predecessor. He has adopted not only the mere outlines of the system which Lord CARDWELL introduced, but many minor changes which Lord CARDWELL was setting himself to bring about. Still there was a marked difference of tone in dealing with numerous points in which the army is interested, sufficient to impress on the minds of his hearers the recollection that a new Government has come into office. The abolition of purchase was accepted by Mr. HARDY as irrevocable; but he expressed a wish that those who carried the abolition had managed to settle satisfactorily the difficulties with which it was surrounded; and he significantly intimated that there were in his opinion officers who had been hardly treated, and that he would not shrink in due time from remedying in a very liberal spirit the grievances they have to urge. He did not exactly quarrel with the system of examination which bars the progress of Militia officers who seek commissions in the line; but he observed that, whereas Lord CARDWELL had described this examination as offering no obstacle to any man of good education, the particular gentlemen of good education who had tried to pass it found it so serious a barrier that loud complaints were made that only two failures were permitted. But it was especially at the close of his speech, when he spoke of the mistake of regarding officers and men as pieces on a chess-board who could be moved about without regard to their feelings, sympathies, traditions, and prejudices, that he made it apparent how much in some important respects he diverged from the opinions of his predecessor. Probably he will have to get harder and sterner as the exigencies of office press on him, but he certainly did all he could to inspire a belief in the army that it has now got a friend in office. As to the details of the management and condition of the army he had little new information to offer, and he was much too prudent to commit himself on points which he was aware he might only understand imperfectly as yet. Much the greatest cause for anxiety as to the future of the army is afforded this year, as it was last year, by the startling proportions which desertion bears to recruiting. Very nearly four thousand men deserted in 1873, and the percentage upon recruiting was nearly thirty-three per cent. of the whole. In the infantry of the line it was thirty per cent., in the Foot Guards fifty-one per cent., and in the Army Service Corps it had attained the extraordinary proportion of 146 per cent., so that, if the corps were recruited a little more assiduously, the whole corps would soon melt away. There is great difficulty in getting recruits for the line, and a still greater difficulty in getting recruits for the Militia, one reason in the latter case being the disinclination of the men to serve under canvas; and when the recruits are got with infinite pains and at great expense, one man in three runs off, and shows his dislike of his new trade by seeking his fortune elsewhere. It is obvious that, if this state of things continues, some remedy must be found; and Mr. HARDY intimated that he had already begun to consider very seriously whether some modification would not have to be made in the whole scheme by which service is now adjusted, so as to make his calling more attractive, because more lucrative and more permanent, to the soldier.

THE CARLIST WAR.

THE result of SERRANO's attack on the Carlist lines at Somorrostro is still uncertain; nor is it known whether he was prepared for the delay which has taken place in his operations. On the 25th of March he had taken some outer works which have since been strengthened. On the evening of the 26th he informed the Ministers at Madrid that he expected on the following day to take San Pedro Abanto, which appears to be at that point the key of the Carlist position; but the attacking force has gained no ground since the first day of the struggle. An armistice of three days has since been concluded; but it would seem that the Carlists dictated the terms of the arrangement, as the bombardment of Bilbao continued during the intermission of hostilities at Somorrostro. SERRANO's motive for agreeing to the armistice is explained by the statement that CABALLERO DE RODAS, one of the ablest of the Spanish Generals, is advancing by forced marches to his assistance. The Commander-in-Chief may probably be anxious for the arrival of a capable lieutenant as well as for a strong reinforcement. General PRIMO DI RIVERA has

been severely wounded, and, according to some accounts, General LOMA also has been injured. It would seem that SERRANO's communications are open, although the interception of supplies would be a tempting object to the Carlist bands which are not incorporated in the main army. As long as SERRANO continues the attack it may be assumed that he has a reasonable prospect of success; but it is impossible to form at a distance any confident opinion of the results. The Carlist position is already proved to be extraordinarily strong; but the troops which hold it are apparently unable in consequence of their want of artillery to attempt the recovery of works from which they have been driven. If the Carlist accounts may be trusted, the plan of attack has totally failed, in consequence of the inability of LOMA and PRIMO DI RIVERA to reach the point at which they might have co-operated with an intended flank movement which was to have been executed by SERRANO in person. The Chief of the Madrid Government bears testimony to the courage and tenacity of an enemy who is certainly not to be despised.

The Republican army, as it is called, is apparently too weak in numbers to cut off the Carlists from their base of operations in the districts south and east of Bilbao. The command of the sea would probably in case of disaster secure to SERRANO a line of retreat and a supply of provisions. On the other hand, the Carlists will, if they are unable to maintain their positions, merely relinquish the siege of Bilbao. It is reported that General OLLO has been killed in one of the recent combats; but the veteran ELIO who holds the chief command evidently possesses considerable ability. Although there are some precedents for such an enterprise, it must be a difficult and delicate operation to continue the siege of a town in the presence of a superior force which threatens the line of circumvallation. The risk is increased by the vicinity of the naval squadron under Admiral TOPETE on the coast and in the estuary of the river. When the attack of MORIONES on the entrenchments was repulsed three or four weeks ago, the Carlist leaders had probably good reason for not following up their success. Bilbao still continued its resistance; and it was known that the Government of Madrid could dispose of superior forces. If SERRANO in turn fails to penetrate into Bilbao after he has received his expected reinforcements, the Carlists will perhaps be for the first time equal or superior to the enemy in the field. Nevertheless it still appears doubtful whether they can safely leave the provinces from which they derive all their strength. It may perhaps be thought expedient to transfer the war for a time into new districts for the purpose of obtaining additional resources. Whether temporary success would facilitate negotiations for fresh supplies of money is a question which it is difficult to answer. It might have been supposed that the insurrection must have long since collapsed for want of funds, which have nevertheless been in some mysterious manner provided. The private fortune of the ex-Duke of MODENA can scarcely be adequate to the maintenance of a regular campaign.

It is barely possible that under the pressure of the Carlist war the anarchy of the rest of Spain may be partially restrained. A common enmity to a foreign invader, or even to a domestic Pretender, has sometimes been found an element of union among internal factions. Progressists, Moderates, and Republicans have hitherto been equally opposed to the Absolutist Pretender; nor have the military leaders of the national forces anything to gain by his accession. The Federalists or Communists indeed facilitated the commencement of the present Carlist insurrection by their intrigues against the discipline of the army, and by the treasonable enterprise of Carthagena; but it may be doubted whether PI Y MARGALL or CONTEBERAS himself would under present circumstances voluntarily accept the succession of SERRANO, with the accompanying burden of the war. Almost the only contingency in which Don CARLOS can hope to occupy Madrid would be the re-establishment of the Republic as it existed from the abdication of AMADEO to the expulsion of the Cortes by PAVIA. In Spain, if in no other country, it is at last fully understood that the only modern Republicans who know their own minds are the professed enemies of society and civilization. The part of CASTELAR and of his well-meaning associates has been played out, not before the brilliant Republican orator had, under the responsibility of power, practically repudiated all the doctrines of his former life, though probably he may recur again to his familiar phrases. His less enthusiastic predecessors in office, the

ZORRILLAS and the SAGASTAS, have probably more or less completely patched up the divisions which were caused by conflicting jobs and personal jealousies. For some time to come the Government of Madrid must necessarily be administered by a soldier, although SERRANO may probably, if he fails in his present enterprise, be displaced by some military rival. On a superficial view of the condition of Spain, it might seem to matter little whether constitutional liberty was suspended under a nominally Liberal Government, or ostensibly suppressed by a legitimate King; but the contest between SERRANO and the Carlist Generals really involves the same issues with the civil war of forty years ago. It was then a question whether Spain should relapse into the stagnation of the eighteenth century, or attempt to take a place among modern civilized States. The defeat of the grandfather of the present Don CARLOS provided an opportunity for a series of constitutional experiments which have not been successful; but since the accession of ISABELLA II. there has never been an avowed or settled despotism, and sanguine patriots may always have hoped for improvement. The petty revolutions of the Court and the camp during the regency of CHRISTINA and the reign of her daughter failed to interrupt the most rapid material progress which has been enjoyed by any country in Europe. The majority of the population, which has regarded with indifference changes of Ministries, and even of dynasties, would be strenuously opposed to the restoration of the system of FERDINAND VII. No alternative, except perhaps a Federal Republic, would be equally odious.

The operations connected with the siege of Bilbao have been sufficiently important to disturb the characteristic tolerance with which one among many factions seems to have been regarded, even while it was engaged in an armed rebellion. Until lately Carlist newspapers were published in Madrid, and agents of the party in many of the principal towns scarcely attempted to disguise their activity. The defeat of MORIONES and the difficulties encountered by SERRANO may perhaps produce on a lower political organization some part of the effect which was caused in the Northern American States by the capture of Fort Sumter. In one respect a claim to the sovereignty of the whole country asserted by the commanders of a regular and not inconsiderable army is more alarming than a notice of secession. Although Don CARLOS seems to have few partisans in the centre or south of Spain, his troops could only be prevented by a superior force from occupying the capital. The cost of the war absorbs the whole revenue of the State, which now finds by experience that dishonesty to the public creditor has been the worst possible policy. The customary weakness of Spanish credit is for the moment aggravated by the intimation that Don CARLOS will, in the event of his accession to the throne, repudiate all loans which may have been contracted by the Republican Government since the beginning of the civil war. It is true that sufficiently liberal contributions would render the execution of the threat impossible by securing the triumph of the actual Government; but capitalists will scarcely have so much confidence in Spanish solvency and integrity as to make advances for the purpose of insuring former ventures.

MR. GLADSTONE AND THE LIBERAL PARTY.

IT is not surprising that the Liberal party should have expressly or tacitly accepted on his own terms Mr. GLADSTONE's offer of remaining at their head during the present Session. He has intimated to his followers that he will frequently require rest and occasional absence from London, but there is no reason to fear that, when he is able to attend the House, he will fail to display his wonted activity and vigour. He officially congratulated the SPEAKER on his re-election; he has since seconded the vote of thanks to the troops engaged in the Ashantee war; and in the successive debates on the Address and the Report he took a leading part, chiefly for the purpose of correcting misapprehensions which might have prevailed as to his conduct and his intentions. On all these occasions he abstained, as might be expected, from any demonstration of hostility to a Government which as yet has merely occupied official seats which had been wilfully vacated. There is nothing in the modest list of measures announced in the QUEEN'S Speech which is likely to provoke serious opposition, but probably Mr. GLADSTONE will think it worth

while to attend the House when the Budget is produced immediately after the Easter recess. There is no reason to suppose that he will be eager to offer captious objections to Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE's proposals, but he will perhaps be tempted to indicate the outlines of his own Budget, which has been already partially and prematurely disclosed. The immediate duties of leader of the Opposition could be discharged by Mr. GLADSTONE alone, inasmuch as they are chiefly confined to the task of apologizing for the outgoing Government. It would appear from the speeches which he has hitherto addressed to the House that he is prepared to discharge his office with excellent temper and taste. No member of either House will be inclined to imitate the Duke of SOMERSET by indulging in useless attack or recrimination against the late Government; and Mr. GLADSTONE's authority will repress any undue impatience among his own adherents. It is not known whether he intends to countenance by his presence and support the annual motions which are to be brought forward by extreme Liberals in their regular order. Mr. GLADSTONE is pledged to the principle of Mr. TREVELYAN's motion for household suffrage in counties; but he may perhaps think that the motion is inopportune because it is for the present hopeless. It is not the business of a Parliamentary leader of the highest rank to take part in the tentative skirmishes which prepare the way for future political struggles.

When the time comes for discussing the choice of a permanent leader, the Opposition will not be inclined to dispense with the services of its natural chief. By that time it may be hoped that Mr. GLADSTONE will have recovered from the fatigues of office, nor is it improbable that he may have in some degree recovered his natural and laudable pugnacity. It is at least within the range of possibility that Mr. DISRAELI may have said or done something to provoke the moral indignation of his adversary, who may desire to achieve one more victory before he finally, like ENTELLUS, lays aside his weapons and his skill. The plea of advancing years can scarcely be admitted in modern England. It is only in the immutable traditions of the stage that sexagenarians are supposed to be approaching their dotage. Mr. GLADSTONE is by several years younger than Mr. DISRAELI. Lord PALMERSTON was ten years older when he gallantly entered on a successful term of six years of office as Prime Minister. M. THIERS at seventy-six leads the French Opposition against Marshal MACMAHON, who is older than Mr. GLADSTONE. A statesman who has spent his life in political and legislative activity can by no possibility regard with indifference the conflicts from which he may have temporarily retired; and, if he is conscious of a power of intervening with decisive effect, he cannot abdicate the duty which attaches to his character and position. Sir ROBERT PEEL during the last four years of his life was the first member of the House of Commons, though he had ceased to be either a party leader or a candidate for office; but the rupture which had recently taken place between himself and his former followers made his neutrality both necessary and justifiable. Mr. GLADSTONE, in spite of excusable irritation and private expressions of discontent, is still recognized by all sections of Liberals as their undoubted chief. His presence in the House of Commons would fatally impair the authority of any successor; and it is not understood that he meditates an irrevocable retreat into private life or the House of Lords. The deliberations of the Opposition, if they are invited in the course of next winter to select a leader, can only have one result.

Mr. GLADSTONE's devoted admirers in the press were perhaps too ready, on reading his ambiguous letter to Lord GRANVILLE, to take him at his word. The consequent suggestion that the office of leader should be both put in commission and converted into the prize of a competitive examination was worthy of the sentimental school of political theorists. Mr. LOWE was, according to this plan, to divide with Mr. CHILDERS the duty of criticizing the financial policy of the Government; Mr. GOSCHEN and Mr. CHILDERS were to prove that the fleet of the day was too costly or not duly efficient; Mr. GOSCHEN would naturally worry the Ministers about local taxation; and Mr. STANSFELD would prove that local government was as inoperative as in his own time. The bulk of the Opposition would judge, by observation among the different candidates, who could make himself most disagreeable to the Government, and, if they were unable to decide, they would always have the resource of falling back on Lord HARTINGTON. The ingenious projectors of the scheme

forgot that the leader of a party has other functions than those of a critic of the conduct of official departments. It is his business to arrange debates, to select the occasions of Parliamentary contests, and to encourage or restrain sluggish and impetuous members of the party. Those ex-Ministers who still remain in the House of Commons may perhaps be able to distribute among themselves their respective duties; but unless they are regularly organized under a leader, they will have no means of controlling independent and ambitious members. Sir W. HARCOURT, before he accepted office, not unfrequently found it incumbent upon him to criticize or oppose the measures of the Minister whom he nevertheless acknowledged as his leader. It may be doubted whether he would implicitly obey instructions as to the conduct of business conveyed to him by one of the half-dozen members of an experimental Committee. During the present Session, when Mr. GLADSTONE happens to be absent, a certain amount of anarchy in the Opposition may perhaps be tolerated without inconvenience. The only vicegerent who could have exercised with effect a delegated authority was lost to the party when Mr. CARDWELL migrated to the House of Lords. It is not understood that Mr. GLADSTONE has any intention of appointing a lieutenant.

If any additional reason for avoiding a change were required, it might be remarked that the character, the closer or laxer union, and the predominant policy of the Opposition have yet to be determined. A few extreme democrats have raised a clamour for a reorganization of the Liberal party which would begin by excluding the majority of its present and former members. A meeting was lately announced to be held at Manchester for the purpose of constituting an exclusively Radical party; but either the project has been abandoned, or the result of the deliberations has not been published. The weekly organ of the faction in London lately propounded five points of a new charter, of which the most significant is the undisguised transfer of property in land from the owners to the occupiers. That revolutionary agitation of this kind will hereafter again become formidable is not only probable but certain; but the season for proposing the disturbance of all rights and institutions has not yet arrived. Although Mr. GLADSTONE seems to have persuaded himself that his defeat was in a great measure caused by the negligence of local election managers, the primary lesson taught by the late election is that the country is not at present disposed to entertain subversive proposals. It is highly probable that the return of Mr. BRIGHT to the Cabinet, and the violent speeches and letters in which he proclaimed his sympathy with the extreme Radicals, largely increased the Conservative majority. A new League for upsetting Church and State would throw further discredit on a cause which is temporarily unpopular. Many individual members have pledged themselves to extreme views; but as long as they are content to remain within the old Liberal organization they will not force their moderate allies to precipitate a disruption which is perhaps ultimately unavoidable. Mr. GLADSTONE will probably command the obedience of all sections of the party as long as he thinks fit to guide the common policy. He has never broken with the remnant of the Whigs, although he has been with reason suspected of inclining rather to the more advanced division of the party. If, notwithstanding the exercise of his authority, the Liberals should break themselves up into distinct bodies, the time for a readjustment of party relations will have arrived; and probably Mr. GLADSTONE will decline to associate himself with any new organization.

PRINCE BISMARCK AND THE MILITARY BILL.

THE illness of Prince BISMARCK has occurred at a moment when the absence of the Chancellor and sole Minister of the Empire from the Imperial Parliament is much to be regretted. The Government has proposed a new Military Law, to which the Parliament hesitates to give its assent. An increase of forty thousand men is asked for, with a corresponding increase of funds; and men and money are to be voted once for all, so that those who are charged with the defence of the country may know that the size and maintenance of an adequate army are placed beyond the fluctuations of Parliamentary opinion. The proposal has excited considerable opposition even among those who are ordinarily steady supporters of the Government. They object that the drain on the numerical strength of the country is too

great, and that industry and the general well-being of the population must suffer. The difference, however, between their views and those of the Government on this head does not appear to be very great. The Government is said to be prepared to reduce the amount of increase demanded, and every one seems willing that the standing army in time of peace should closely touch on 400,000 men. Nor is there any difficulty about money. The Germans know that an army strong enough to protect Germany must necessarily be very expensive; but they can afford to pay for it, and are ready to do so. But when they are asked to vote money and men once for all, Liberal members feel as if the Parliament were asked to give up being a Parliament. They would agree to fix the size of the army, and assign funds for its maintenance in the highest degree of efficiency, for a term of five or six years; but to place so very large a part of the national expenditure beyond the sphere of Parliamentary control for ever seems to them an abandonment of the position which they were elected to uphold. If Prince BISMARCK had been able to be present, he would probably have either given such an explanation of the reasons which have determined the Government to make what seems a somewhat unjustifiable demand, or he would have initiated or accepted some compromise which would have satisfied the Opposition, and yet left the dignity of the Government unimpaired. But he has been ill, and during his illness he has once more been interviewed. It appears that too much reliance must not be placed on the first sketches of the communications supposed to be made at interviews of this sort when Prince BISMARCK is concerned. Either the memory of his visitors does not quite serve them, or the Prince does not quite like the look of his monologues when he sees them in print. The account of each interview is followed after a short lapse of time by an intimation that the views of the Prince have not been quite correctly reported. What was thought at Berlin of the general character of his remarks on the Parliamentary opposition to the Military Bill may be gathered from the simple and timid confession of some of the most loyal Berlin journals, that the Prince must have been rather ill when he received his visitors. He has been ill, and his illness has been of a painful kind, long sleeplessness being one of the symptoms. Even a man of iron is naturally unhinged and made a little nervous and irritable by physical suffering of this sort. And when the Berlin journals had recognized that the illness of the great CHANCELLOR might not improbably affect him as such an illness would affect other men, the explanation gave a sense of relief, and it was assumed that the CHANCELLOR when he gets well again will see things in a rosier light, and, made pleasant himself once more, will again make everything pleasant for his admiring country.

The Parliament has adjourned for a few days, and the PRESIDENT is stated to have called on the EMPEROR in order to assure him that a force of 384,000 men would be voted in a manner acceptable to the Government. The Liberal Opposition will do its utmost to avoid anything like a rupture with a Government which has in general its cordial approval and admiration. It must be owned that Prince BISMARCK gets his way in the Parliament with a completeness which ought to satisfy even his susceptible mind. The Council has agreed on a set of new ecclesiastical laws by which refractory ecclesiastics may be banished from any German State, and, if banished, are not to be permitted to reside in any other; and so rapid has been the advance of public opinion in this direction, that the representatives in the Council of the King of BAVARIA were instructed to offer no opposition to the measure. The press law has been put into a new shape, and one concession has been made to Liberal feeling by a clause providing that the police shall not seize on or suppress a paper before it has been regularly condemned by a tribunal; but at the request of the Government this clause is not to operate in Alsace. Nor is it only that the majority of the Parliament is sincerely anxious not merely to support, but to please, Prince BISMARCK. It knows of what elements the minority is composed, and Liberal Germans have a thorough dislike of splitting off from their party and allying themselves with an alien horde of Ultramontanes, Alsations, Danes, Poles, and Socialists. It is only, therefore, because the feeling that the Government was asking something which it ought never to have asked, and the concession of which would amount to a suspension in one important direction of Parliamentary government, that the Military Bill has been in danger.

Why there has been this opposition, reluctant and half-hearted as it has been, seems clear enough to us in England with our Parliamentary ideas; for to fix the size of a huge standing army and to provide its funds in perpetuity is totally inconsistent with that proper authority of Parliament to which we have been accustomed. It is therefore more instructive to turn to the other side of the question, and to ask how it happens that so much importance has been attached by the Government to the success of its proposal. Whatever amount of toning down the first account of the interview with Prince BISMARCK may have subsequently received, there can be no doubt that he felt strongly and spoke strongly on the subject, that he discussed the matter as if his whole policy was in question, and that he stated he would rather resign than be answerable for the fortunes of Germany if the Government was defeated. The EMPEROR, too, only a few days ago used language of a very similar character. In answer to a very loyal address presented to him on his birthday, he replied that he should have thought he had served his country too well to have been exposed to the mortification of seeing measures questioned which he knew the safety of the country demanded. Marshal von MOLTKE and one General after another insisted during the discussion in Parliament that the matter was one of extreme importance, and solemnly warned doubtful listeners how serious might be the consequences if the project of the Government was rejected. These are the men who have done most to make Germany what it now is, and to whom the German Empire and the German Imperial Parliament owed the possibility of their existence. They may be wrong, but they must have some idea to which they are clinging, and some ground for conduct and language which certainly seem at first sight extraordinary and exaggerated.

The main notion of the group of statesmen who at present preside over Germany seems to be that Germany is one huge entrenched camp. That the Germans are in such a camp, and are consequently protected by strong bulwarks against enemies, is the result of the late war. Had that war gone against them, then Germany would have been trampled under foot, spoiled, and left defenceless. What is the good of all the German victories, it is sometimes asked, if at the end of a career of conquest it has to keep up huge armies, busy itself with new fortifications, and keep an incessant watch on the machinations of its enemies? The answer of Prince BISMARCK and his counsellors is, that the good to Germans is that Germany is now tolerably sure of being able to defend itself. But it cannot be sure of this unless it at once realizes its danger, and watches and provides against it with unflagging vigilance. How is this to be done? Mainly, German statesmen reply, by having a military system adequate for all needs perfected in every detail and pursued with unvarying perseverance. Those who are charged with the safety of Germany demand a machinery at their command on the effectiveness of which they may always rely. They do not want to be unable to foresee how many troops will in three years' time be available for this purpose or stationed in that quarter. They want an unfailing material with which to work—men, money, arms, officers within prescribed and unalterable limits always forthcoming and at their disposal. They shrink from the thought that a Parliamentary vote in two or three years' time might knock off ten thousand men, and thus leave some little corner in the entrenched camp unguarded. The very success of the measures they take may, they apprehend, be a source of danger. Germany will be so well protected that it will be hard to realize that it is an entrenched camp after all, and then persons ignorant of military affairs and anxious for temporary notoriety or petty party triumphs will ask that reductions shall be made in the army, and laugh at those whose danger when safety seems to be smiling on every side. The only way to guard against this fatal feeling of false security coming over the country is to put the adequateness of the defences of the country beyond the assaults of popular caprice. This is the policy which has found expression in the irritation and strong language of the sick CHANCELLOR, in the querulousness of the aged EMPEROR, and in the solemn warnings of VON MOLTKE. It may be a mistaken policy; it may be based on a wrong conception of probabilities; it may even, as seems not improbable, keep alive that animosity on the part of the French against which it proposes to secure Germany; but at any rate it is a policy worth understanding, and it is based on a conception of the real position of Germany in

Europe which Germans cannot free themselves from without making great changes in the general direction of their affairs.

THE CORRESPONDENCE ON CENTRAL ASIA.

THE Government has thought fit to publish Lord GRANVILLE's latest despatch on the affairs of Central Asia, with Prince GORTCHAKOFF's curt reply. The tenor of the correspondence, especially on the part of England, might easily have been anticipated. The Russian assurances of peaceful intentions, though they conform to many precedents, are less explicit and definite than on some former occasions. It is difficult to understand why the EMPEROR ALEXANDER should have thought it worth while about the end of 1872 to offer, through a confidential officer of his own, a formal undertaking that the expedition to Khiva should not result in conquest or annexation. The event of the enterprise exactly corresponded to expectation, nor was the resistance encountered sufficiently stubborn to explain any change in the policy of Russia; yet the submission of the KHAN was only accepted on condition of his unqualified acknowledgment of Russian sovereignty, and of the cession of an important part of his territory. By a strange oversight the KHAN of KHIVA is, in the English translation of the fourth article of the Treaty, designated by the title of "Majesty." No such recognition of titular rank is to be found in the official French version, which, as it may be supposed, accurately represents the original Russian text. Lord GRANVILLE "sees no practical advantage in examining too minutely how far these arrangements are in accordance with the assurances given me in January last by Count SCHOVALOFF as to the intentions with which the expedition against Khiva was undertaken." It would in fact have been impossible to reconcile with the EMPEROR's assurances arrangements which are nevertheless perfectly intelligible. It was from the first improbable that the Russians would be contented with an Ashantee campaign against Khiva, which must have been repeated on every new provocation. There may probably have been some difference of opinion between the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of St. Petersburg, for the haughty language of the treaty or capitulation imposed on the KHAN may be interpreted as a formal repudiation of Count SCHOVALOFF's assurances. From the first the semi-official Russian papers maintained that the EMPEROR had only expressed his intentions, and that he had not bound himself by any promise. It would have been useless to reply that a great potentate who voluntarily announces his policy to an interested party is ordinarily supposed to have pledged himself to abide by his declarations. If the interior history of the transaction is ever disclosed, it will perhaps appear that the personal opinions of the EMPEROR were overruled by his advisers or agents.

The mission of Count SCHOVALOFF was connected with a negotiation of a more permanent character, which was, however, conducted through the resident Russian Embassy. Lord CLARENDON had in 1869 proposed to Prince GORTCHAKOFF the recognition of some neutral territory between the Asiatic possessions of England and of Russia. It was agreed in 1871 that the dominions of SHERE ALI should be exempt from Russian interference; and in the beginning of 1873 Prince GORTCHAKOFF accepted the English contention that the provinces of Badakshan and Wakhan formed part of Afghanistan. The English Government agreed to use its influence to dissuade the AMEER from interference in the affairs of Bokhara; and in his closing despatch Prince GORTCHAKOFF adroitly assumed that England had guaranteed the neutrality of Afghanistan. Lord GRANVILLE by his silence virtually accepted the Russian interpretation; but Mr. GLADSTONE, always nervously anxious to shrink from national responsibility, soon afterwards verbally disclaimed in the House of Commons any control over the policy of Afghanistan. The caution of the Foreign Secretary and the eager timidity of the Prime Minister placed the Government in the worst possible diplomatic position. The journalists of St. Petersburg and Moscow instantly fastened on Mr. GLADSTONE's statement as a disavowal of Lord GRANVILLE's undertaking; and the Russian Government retained the option of treating the bargain as void or valid as future expediency might suggest. Mr. GLADSTONE perhaps indistinctly apprehended the fact that Russian astuteness had already been rewarded by a diplomatic triumph. Prince GORTCHAKOFF had gradually converted Lord CLARENDON's neutral territory into a protectorate, and

he now proceeded to impose upon England a liability for the acts of an independent State adjacent to the Russian possessions. The original object of preventing collision between the rival Empires was thus practically abandoned; but unfortunately Lord GRANVILLE had acquiesced in the Russian theory of the joint understanding; and Mr. GLADSTONE's protest was too late for any purpose, except to compromise the character of the English Government. The apprehensions which prompted his tardy declaration have been already justified. Within a year from the close of the correspondence Lord GRANVILLE had occasion to call the attention of the Russian Government to a danger which arises exclusively from the ambiguous relations of Afghanistan to England. The inevitable contact between the great Asiatic Powers has been accelerated by the definition of a neutral zone which proves to be the reverse of neutral.

The Ameer SHERE ALI has communicated to the Indian Government the reasonable alarm caused by the report of a Russian expedition to be directed against Merv and the Turcoman tribes on the North-Western frontier of Afghanistan. The AMEER apprehends that the Turcomans will take refuge in his territories in the neighbourhood of Herat, and that he will then be required either to become responsible for their peaceful conduct or to admit Russian troops to exercise reprisals within his dominions. Lord GRANVILLE adds that rumours of the projected expedition have reached him from various quarters, and that the project has been strongly advocated by the Russian press. Prince GORTCHAKOFF's statement that no such expedition is contemplated may be set aside as purely conventional. Transparent diplomatic fictions are not even dishonourable. The Russian CHANCELLOR explained his meaning by the ironical remark that the maintenance of peace depends on the Turcomans, or, in other words, on the abandonment by predatory tribes of their immemorial propensities and habits. He adds that the AMEER will do well to make the Turcomans understand that they have no assistance or support to expect from him. Lord GRANVILLE had almost apologized beforehand for any aggressive measures which the Russian Government may undertake. In 1864, as he reminds Prince GORTCHAKOFF, the adoption of a final line of frontier, which has long since been overpassed, was announced in a formal Circular. In 1869 the EMPEROR declared his intention of restoring Samarkand to Bokhara; but in 1873 Prince GORTCHAKOFF confessed that the place must be retained. It would be unreasonable to complain of any defect of candour in the recent correspondence. It may be assumed that Merv will be conquered, that the Turcomans will be driven into Afghan territory, and that the Ameer will then be held responsible for their conduct. It would in truth be impossible, when Russia and Afghan territories had become conterminous, that border forays should be allowed to proceed with impunity. The purpose of Lord GRANVILLE's communication is not easily intelligible. He suggests indeed to the Russian Government that the Merv expedition may produce complications with Afghanistan, but he abstains from protesting against the measures which he deprecates. If the Russian Government, in attacking Merv, will be acting within its rights, it seems scarcely dignified to intimate that hostilities against the Turcomans will be unpalatable to England. The only diplomatic representation likely to be operative would be a notice that an advance beyond a certain point would be followed by an immediate rupture. Such an intimation would probably be at present premature; but in the meantime verbal remonstrances are inopportune and useless.

The commercial treaty which has lately been concluded with the ruler of Eastern Turkestan may possibly produce hereafter a controversy with Russia. In his late despatch Lord GRANVILLE referred to an assurance given by Prince GORTCHAKOFF to Lord CLARENDON in 1869, that Russia had no hostile intentions against the ATALIK GHAAZEE, nor any desire to make conquests in his dominions. A declaration with respect to Central Asia dated four years back may be regarded as obsolete. The ATALIK GHAAZEE, who has now by grant of the Sultan of TURKEY assumed the higher title of the Ameer YAKOUB KHAN, has recently sent a mission to apologize for certain outrages committed by his subjects on Russian merchants. The offence will probably not be condoned except on conditions. Any exclusive commercial advantages which may be demanded by Russia will be inconsistent with the stipulations of the English treaty. It is the policy of England to admit all foreign nations to the common enjoyment of facilities

of trade which may be obtained by negotiation; but free competition in the markets of any part of Central Asia would not be regarded by Russia as a boon. No extensive trade with India can be established by way of the difficult mountain passes which were traversed by Mr. FORSYTH on the way to Kashgar; but there are perhaps more accessible roads between the two countries. The object of the AMEER is probably rather political than commercial. The kingdom which he has formed for himself is threatened both on the East and on the West. The Chinese have, with characteristic pertinacity, lately reconquered a part of the territory which had been disavowed from the Empire during the great Mahometan revival. According to Mr. FORSYTH, YAKOUB KHAN succeeded not directly to the Chinese Government, but to insurgents who had already established their independence; but, as opportunity offers, the Imperial authorities will not fail to attempt the recovery of Eastern Turkestan; and the Government of Peking would perhaps not reject the co-operation of Russia. It will be difficult to aid an ally beyond the mountains; nor is it to be supposed that the Indian Government has entered into any embarrassing engagements. There is no reason to expect that Lord DERBY will, either in Asia or in Europe, depart from the policy of Lord GRANVILLE; but probably he will be well advised in abstaining from any diplomatic correspondence with Russia, unless it becomes necessary to indicate the point at which further acquiescence in Russian aggrandizement will become impossible. Merv is on the road to Herat, which may be considered as on that side the key of India. Merv lies outside of Afghan territory; but any further advance would be dangerous and objectionable.

FRANCE.

A PERFECTLY unexpected incident has to all appearance made a complete breach between the Duke of BROGLIE and the Extreme Right. On Friday week M. DAHIREL suddenly proposed that on the 1st of June the Assembly should pronounce definitively on the form of Government, and asked that his motion should be declared urgent. Upon this latter demand the Assembly divided. Urgency was refused by a large majority, but this majority was merely a scratch one. The Left were not agreed among themselves, and while M. GAMBETTA and his immediate followers voted with M. DAHIREL, M. LÉDET ROLLIN, M. BARDET, and others of the most extreme section voted with the Government, and this reinforcement just balanced the defection from the Right, and so saved the Duke of BROGLIE from defeat. If this were anything more than a chance vote it would be impossible for the Duke to carry on the Government. He has never taken kindly to the idea of a majority composed of the Centres, and a majority composed of the Right Centre and the Radical Left must be still more distasteful to him, besides being utterly unworkable. It may fairly be doubted, however, whether the division on M. DAHIREL's motion was anything more than a chance vote. The Extreme Right have never promised not to make the Duke of BROGLIE's tenure of office uncomfortable. The utmost they have thought themselves bound to do is not to turn him out of office. They can be trusted, that is to say, on a vote of confidence or no confidence, but they can be trusted on nothing else. The motion for urgency was put to them in a way which made it very difficult for them not to support it. When a Legitimist is challenged point-blank to say whether he wishes the Assembly to decide between the Monarchy and the Republic, he has hardly any choice in the matter. He would be false to the pledges he has been making all his life if he were a party to any postponement of the decision which is to give France a King. But supposing that urgency had been voted, there would still have been time for manoeuvres by which the vote on the main question might have been evaded, and in this interval even M. DAHIREL himself perhaps looked forward to being somehow won over to the side of the Government. The mere declaring the motion urgent need not of itself have upset the Ministry. It might even have been contended that respect for Marshal MACMAHON demanded that the implied attack on his authority should be disposed of with the least possible delay. The Extreme Right probably think the Duke of BROGLIE very much too ingenious for an honest Royalist, but as this quality would enable him to devise some way out of the difficulty, they would have

no scruple about bringing him into it. Of course it might very well have turned out that they had mistaken their man. It is never possible to calculate with absolute precision the amount of ignominy to which a Minister will submit. The more long-suffering he is, the more unexpected his resentment will appear when it is at length roused. But it is not necessary to suppose that the Right had made up their minds to break with the Duke of BROGLIE because they voted against him.

If the whole of the Opposition had on this occasion voted with the Government or not voted at all, it might have been thought that their leaders foresaw that M. DAHIREL's motion would be no more than a barren demonstration. It is less easy, however, to explain why the Left Centre and the more moderate section of the Left should have voted with M. DAHIREL. The action of the extreme section of the Left is intelligible enough. They have made the denial of all constituent authority to the existing Assembly a matter of principle, and from this point of view their refusal to declare a motion urgent which recognized the constituent power of the Assembly was perfectly consistent. Politicians of the type of M. LEDRU-ROLLIN are not accustomed to postpone the indulgence of a crotchet for any practical object, however important. In this respect the return of M. LEDRU-ROLLIN to the Assembly may prove a real misfortune to the Left. There are probably several deputies who would not separate themselves from M. GAMBETTA on a matter of Parliamentary strategy unless they could find shelter under some well-known Republican name. M. LEDRU-ROLLIN's example gives them just the sanction they want. They can act without regard to consequences, they can upset carefully-laid plans, they can set party discipline at defiance, and if their constituents find any fault with them, they can turn off their criticism by a few commonplaces about the venerable apostle of universal suffrage. The Left has good reason to wish that M. LEDRU-ROLLIN and a few of his chosen allies could be sent to join M. HENRI ROCHEFORT in that irresponsible, but not unpleasant, exile to which his skill in swimming has lately consigned him. Perhaps, however, the opposition of the extreme section of the Left to M. DAHIREL's demand to have his motion declared urgent is best explained by their fear lest the Republic should after all be proclaimed by the existing Assembly. It is not likely indeed that matters would have gone so far, or that between now and the 1st of June the Government would have failed to find some means of putting off the decision. But on the assumption that the vote had really been taken on the 1st of June, and had gone, as in that case it must have gone, in favour of the Republic, the administration of the Septennate would probably have been modified. The Duke of BROGLIE would scarcely have remained Minister after the Government had been formally deprived of its provisional character, and he would naturally have been succeeded by a politician whose opposition to Republicanism was at all events less decided. This result would in no way have suited the extreme Radicals. To them any Republic, except one of exactly their own type, would probably be more distasteful than even a Royalist or Imperialist restoration. The very symptom which is most hopeful in French politics—the acceptance of the Republic by the Conservative classes—is the symptom which gives them most alarm for their own future. M. GAMBETTA's faith in the Republic is more robust. He accounts it a gain to have the form of the commonwealth settled once for all, and the field of controversy correspondingly narrowed. Consequently, M. GAMBETTA is anxious, above all things, to get rid of the Duke of BROGLIE; Marshal MACMAHON he is apparently willing to accept, provided that he does nothing inconsistent with his position as President of the Republic. From their several points of view, both M. GAMBETTA and M. LEDRU-ROLLIN voted consistently on M. DAHIREL's motion.

An able writer in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of Thursday throws doubt upon what has just been spoken of as the most hopeful symptom in French politics. He maintains that the success of the Republican candidates is more apparent than real, that they are chosen because "any stone will serve to pelt the Government with," and that a party which "contains members whose Conservatism would almost surpass Lord ELTON's, and members whose revolutionary violence would put to shame 'TOM PAINE,'" can never turn the possession of power to any lasting account. This theory of the situation does not explain satisfactorily why it is that men

whose Conservatism would almost surpass Lord ELTON's should now for the first time be found in the Republican party. Under the Empire, no doubt, men of very Conservative tempers associated themselves with the Liberal Opposition, but this was because it was the only effective way of showing their dislike of the Empire. They really wanted to pelt the Government, and they could not be expected to be scrupulous in their choice of stones. But why should Conservatives hate the present Government, unless it be that they distrust its power to hold its own against the assailants of public order, and have more faith in the power of such a Republic as M. THIERS would have set up if he had remained at the head of affairs long enough, and as Marshal MACMAHON would perhaps set up still if he could be freed from his alliance with the Duke of BROGLIE? The effect of such a change of feeling must tend, as it seems to us, to give the Republican party an element of ballast which has hitherto been wanting to it. It would be different if these men merely professed themselves Republicans because no more accurate denomination was open to them. But there is an ample store of names from which they might make their choice. The Orleanists actually control the action of the Cabinet; the Legitimists are the strongest section of the Ministerial majority; the Bonapartists have just polled nearly fifty thousand votes in the Gironde. These Conservative Republicans might safely identify themselves with any one of these parties; why should they pass them all over in favour of the Republic, unless it is that they feel a conviction, which hitherto they have not felt, that the Republic has a greater promise of stability than all of them? It is needless to say that the existence of this conviction is no proof that it is well founded, but on the other hand it must be admitted that it belongs to the class of convictions which tend to provide their own justification. If Conservatives of the school of Lord ELTON have come to think that the stability of the Government and the prosperity of the country will be best secured by acquiescence in Republican institutions, this is at all events a fact in French politics to which there has not as yet been any parallel.

THE STRIKES.

IT is extremely unfortunate that, at a time of commercial dulness arising from other causes, a large part of the industry of the country should be paralysed by conflicts between employers and workmen. There are actual or impending strikes in almost every great coal and iron district of the kingdom; and the contagion of disturbance will probably extend to many of the trades which are dependent on these important commodities. The farmers and their labourers are also at war, and agricultural operations have been suspended over a considerable region. The cause of these disorders is easy enough to discover, though the remedy is as perplexing as ever. During a period of remarkable prosperity wages in the coal and iron trades went up rapidly. Colliers and iron-workers who have been enjoying high wages are naturally anxious to resist a reduction now that business is declining, while less fortunate workmen in other occupations have been tempted, partly by natural emulation, partly by the pressure of rising prices, to try to better their condition. That the reaction has come more quickly and more sharply in the coal and iron trades than in any other branch of industry is due simply to their exceptional prosperity during the last few years. They had reached a higher point of elevation, and the fall is proportionately more severe. The iron-workers in Lanarkshire lately submitted to a reduction of ten per cent. in their wages without a strike, and the colliers are now fighting against a reduction of fifteen per cent. In Durham, Northumberland, and South Staffordshire the miners are asked to accept a reduction of twenty per cent. Coal, which was kept up for some time at an absurdly inflated price, is returning to its former value; and the iron market has just been shaken by a still more violent fall. What has happened is only what might have been foreseen. Increased cost has produced diminished consumption. Traders seldom allow sufficiently for the extent to which people can manage to do without their goods, and they require to be reminded by such experiences as those of the present time that there is, after all, a limit to the amount which consumers can afford or are willing to spend. For some time an idea was prevalent that prices could be raised all round, and that each

class of producers or traders could recoup themselves for increased expenditure by simply adding to their own charges. This delusion has now been pretty well exploded, and producers have been taught that they cannot dispense with the consent of consumers to the readjustment of their tariff. In point of fact, when the prices of important articles go up, there are some trades which must be prepared to reduce their profits. There has been a considerable decrease in the use of coal both for domestic and manufacturing purposes, and the excessive cost of iron has produced a similar result. In many trades dealing in articles of less necessity the decline of business must have been very serious.

On the general question of strikes there is of course nothing new to be said, and we should almost have hoped that nothing needed to be said. It might have been supposed that every one by this time perfectly understood the conditions under which the employer, the workman, and the consumer contend with each other. The employer seeks the highest attainable amount of profit, and the workman the highest possible wages, while the consumer is anxious to get his supplies at the lowest price. There is no sort of reason why an employer should not enjoy the same liberty as other people with regard to buying or refusing to buy any article at a particular price. The employer is, as regards his workmen, simply a shopkeeper who sells wages, and if they are dissatisfied with what he offers, they must just try to get what they want elsewhere or go without. This obvious principle is pretty well understood as applied to the trades in which strikes usually occur. It has been brought home to the public that they are not mere on-lookers, but, in point of fact, parties to the conflict. When anybody's wages are raised it always comes out of somebody's pocket; and many persons have become more cautious in their charitable advice to A, the master, to pay B, the workman, whatever he asks, since they have discovered that a share of the bounty is likely to be drawn from their own pockets. It would appear, however, that the agricultural labourer is still regarded from the sentimental point of view. The Bishop of MANCHESTER, in a letter in which he seems to be anxious to balance his economical orthodoxy on the Bengal famine by his gushing enthusiasm about the labourer, has denounced the farmers for not paying their men the wages demanded; indeed he would go beyond the demand, and give the men three shillings a week additional, though they profess that they would be content with an extra shilling. He points out, as a reason for concession, that the language of the Unionist leaders is becoming daily more violent, and even "insurrectionary and menacing," and that the result may possibly be a "peasant war." It is obvious that a surrender to intimidation of this kind would simply provoke a repetition of it in support of fresh demands. The Bishop has, however, another ground for his advice. He holds that it is impossible for a labourer to keep himself and his family on less than 16s. a week. To this the farmers might reply that this estimate leaves altogether out of account the earnings of the family and various allowances which ought to be reckoned in the labourer's income, and that in any case it does not affect the real question, which, from their point of view, is not what is an "equitable wage" for the labourer, but whether a farmer is bound to carry on his business on terms which he regards as unprofitable. If it were the case that a labourer could not live on less than 16s. a week, while he could only earn 13s., that would not prove that the farmer ought to subscribe 3s. a week in charity to make up the difference. It would only prove that agriculture had ceased in that particular district to afford a livelihood, and the labourer would have to seek some other employment. Nothing can be more absurd or preposterous than the idea which pervades the whole system of Trade Unions, that because a workman has chosen to go into a particular trade it is the duty of somebody to provide him with work in that trade at a sufficient wage to make him comfortable. The only wages to which he is entitled are the wages he can get; and if he cannot get what he wants in one quarter he must look for it in another. If it were possible to fix an equitable profit for a farmer, it might be possible to fix an equitable wage for a labourer; but each has clearly the same right to decline to work except on his own terms. Less nonsense would be talked about strikes if people would only reflect how such questions bear on their immediate personal relations. Farming is only a business like any other business, and must be conducted on similar conditions.

It is unfortunate for the labourers that a bad system

cannot be suddenly reformed so as to do justice on all sides without injury to any one. There can be no doubt that the labourers in many parts are wretchedly paid, but it does not follow that they are paid less than they are worth to the farmers who employ them. It may be taken as tolerably certain that where very low wages prevail there is bad farming. In such a case an improvement in farming is essential to an amelioration of the labourer's condition; but it may happen that labourers who in physical energy or intelligence are unequal to the conditions of superior husbandry may have to be sacrificed along with farmers who find themselves similarly out of place in a new set of circumstances. The agricultural labourers of the future will certainly profit by the movement which is now set on foot, and no doubt the farmers too; but for a time it can scarcely fail to tell very hardly on many persons of both classes. How far the farmers are correct in their assumption that they cannot afford to increase the wages of their men we cannot presume to determine, and in any case that is a question on which they are entitled to use their own discretion. There is, however, one point on which we cannot help thinking that they have made a mistake. They have locked out all Union men, and they have intimated that this is not a temporary measure, and that they mean to shut their gates permanently against the Unionists. The object of this policy is of course to crush the Union before it has time to grow bigger and stronger; but this policy has been tried in other trades, and we are not aware that it has ever succeeded. A Union is not a pleasant body for employers to deal with, and it often works in an evil spirit; but it is quite clear that the men cannot do without Unions, and in some respects their influence on employers is necessary and beneficial. The farmers would undoubtedly be on safer ground if they limited their resistance to the demand for higher wages. The labourers have a perfect right to belong to a Union and to ask for what wages they please; but, on the other hand, the farmers are equally entitled to form their own judgment as to what it is worth their while to pay.

THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS AND THE HOUSES OF THE POOR.

THE College of Physicians has at length moved in a matter upon which their opinion is especially weighty and, if judiciously pressed, especially likely to have effective results. They have addressed a memorial to Mr. DISRAELI in which they point out, first, that in the daily exercise of their profession they have convinced themselves that disease, drunkenness, and immorality are largely caused by overcrowding, and especially by overcrowding in unwholesome and ill-constructed habitations; secondly, that this overcrowding has been in many cases caused by wholesale demolition of houses inhabited by the poor; thirdly, that private enterprise is not strong enough to provide the fresh and improved house accommodation which is required to meet the evil; and lastly, that the intervention of Parliament is necessary to secure suitable sites for building.

There can be no need to insist further upon the first of these statements. The fact that overcrowding exists is not denied; the fact that it makes the observance of common decency impossible is not denied; the fact that those who are subjected to it have neither physical nor moral inducements to keep sober is not denied. All the controversy turns upon the consequences which follow from these admissions. It seems strange that there should be any need to insist upon the second point raised by the memorial. It stands to reason that if, when a hundred houses stand upon a given space, there is overcrowding, the mischief must be intensified if seventy out of this hundred are destroyed and their inhabitants distributed in part over the remaining thirty, in part over others in the neighbouring districts which are already equally overcrowded. Yet it is evident that this obvious consequence is not properly understood, because Parliament goes on Session after Session passing Bills mis-called improvement Bills, which apply this disastrous system to fresh areas of population. Wherever a new street is opened up or a railway allowed to come a step further into London, whole nests of poor dwellings have to be swept away, and as a rule no provision is made for the rehousing of those who have lived in them. All the great metropolitan railway stations stand on ground which was once densely inhabited, and any one who looks down the streets that

about upon any of the great new thoroughfares may see for himself what has usually been the character of the houses which have been displaced. It must be remembered that for all the misery thus created Parliament is directly responsible. There are many evils which legislation might have prevented. This is an evil which it needed legislation to call into being. These wholesale purchases of land cannot be carried out except by Act of Parliament, and, in some cases at all events, Parliament has been distinctly warned of what must follow upon passing the Bill, and notwithstanding this warning has deliberately passed it. This fact is of itself sufficient to dispose of any scruples as to the propriety of legislating on this question. Only the Legislature can undo what the Legislature has done.

The third position in the memorial decidedly understates the case. Private enterprise is unable to deal satisfactorily with overcrowding for two reasons; first, because of the difficulty of getting sites—which is the difficulty mentioned by the College of Physicians—and next, because of the difficulty of inducing the poor to take decent rooms so long as rooms which are not decent are to be had close by for less money. The victims of disease, drunkenness, and immorality are not the persons who most keenly feel the wretchedness of their condition. It takes, ordinarily speaking, some amount of education or some experience of a higher standard of comfort to appreciate this. But the difficulty of finding an extra sixpence is thoroughly appreciated, and when the choice lies between rooms which are ill-drained, ill-ventilated, overcrowded and cheap, and rooms which are superior in the first three respects but less cheap, it will in the great majority of cases be the former that will have the preference. The spectacle of whole rows of new and well-built houses standing vacant, while overcrowding was as rampant as ever all round them, would not tend to edification. Closely connected with this difficulty is another to which the memorial hardly gives sufficient prominence. It is this. Even if there were no overcrowding, the dwellings of the London poor would still produce disease and drunkenness. The way in which they are built; the utter inadequacy of sanitary accommodation in houses originally intended for one family and now inhabited by half-a-dozen; the omission of the landlord to do even the most necessary repairs; the imperfection, if not the entire absence, of drainage, would cause or predispose to disease even if the house had only a tenth of its present occupants. And the physical condition produced by these defects is precisely the condition in which a man most feels the want of strong stimulants. Men employed to empty cesspools have to be kept up during their work by frequent drams, and the lives of too many of the London poor are passed under circumstances which do not greatly differ from these.

There are three things which Parliament might do to remedy this state of things. These measures do not involve any scheme of State help. They only apply principles which have already been to some extent recognized, and which are in constant operation in other fields of legislation. The first is that no new Railway or Street Improvement Bill shall be passed without proper provision being made for the accommodation of the people who will be turned out of their houses by the change. It should be incumbent upon the promoters of the Bill to state how many persons they propose to displace, and to show that enough ground has been reserved in or near to the improvements, not merely for the rehousing of the inhabitants of the destroyed dwellings, but for their rehousing under proper sanitary conditions. So long as Parliament does not insist upon this being done in every case in which its aid has to be invoked before an improvement can be made, it is really sacrificing the welfare of the poor to the interests, often the imaginary interests, of the well-to-do community. It would not be expedient to make the promoters of the Bill do more than reserve sites, because, where these can be had on reasonable terms, there does not seem to be much difficulty in finding persons willing to build upon them. The second thing that Parliament can do is to remedy in some degree its neglect in not inserting similar provisions in former Improvement Bills. To do this completely is impossible; but something might be effected by including the provision of houses for the poor among the objects for which land may, under certain circumstances, be compulsorily purchased. Proper precautions, of course, would have to be taken that these compulsory powers were not invoked except to promote the public objects of diminishing overcrowding, and putting healthy houses in the place of unhealthy ones. There is no need to make the business of

the ordinary speculative builder either easier or more profitable than it already is. The last and by far the most important of the three measures is a law which shall assimilate the responsibilities of vendors of houses to the responsibilities of vendors of articles of food. Suppose that the health of a large part of the population was being destroyed by eating unwholesome bread, it would not be enough to take care that wholesome bread should be sold side by side with it, unless care were also taken that the wholesome bread should be sold at the same rate. How would Parliament set to work to accomplish this latter object? Certainly not by ordering the vendors of wholesome bread to sell it at a price which would not yield a profit. What would be done—what is done in fact—would be to forbid the sale of any bread which was not wholesome. So long as unwholesome houses are allowed to be let there will always be tenants to occupy them. Rooms in a house which is ill-built, ill-drained, and never repaired can obviously be let at a lower rent than rooms in a house which is properly built and drained and to the repairs of which timely attention is paid; and while this difference exists, the cheaper rooms will have the call. But if Parliament applies to houses the principle already applied to food, and decrees that no house shall be let which does not conform to certain prescribed sanitary conditions, and which is not kept in conformity with them by the execution of all necessary repairs, the rivalry between healthy and unhealthy houses would come to an end. Some houses, of course, might be more healthy than others, because, in laying down the requirements which a house must satisfy in order to come into the market, it would not be expedient to take any extreme or fancy standard. But the essentials of health would be secured in the same way in which the Adulteration Act secures, or may be made to secure, the essentials of health as regards food. We hope that the College of Physicians will supplement their memorial in this sense, and that they will not let the PRIME MINISTER alone until he has consented to take the matter in hand.

PROGRESS OF THE ULTRAMONTANE STRUGGLE.

THE imprisonment of the Archbishop of Cologne, which had for some weeks been anticipated, took place on Tuesday last, and adds another to the lengthening catalogue of episcopal confessions in Prussia. It proves at all events that Prince Bismarck's illness and threatened retirement have not as yet produced any change, or even check, in the ecclesiastical policy of the Government. But every fresh prosecution under the Falk laws not only serves to embitter the controversy, but inevitably reopens in the popular mind the previous question, so to call it, of the justice and expediency of the course on which the Imperial Government has entered. Many opportunities have already occurred for indicating our own view of the matter, but a highly characteristic apology for the new legislation which appeared the other day in the *Daily Telegraph* supplies amusing evidence of how little one section of English Liberalism has succeeded in mastering the first elements of the question at issue. The *Telegraph* notices with regret that there are English Liberals who have taken the wrong side in the quarrel, and it solemnly admonishes them that "on the main point in dispute between the Prussian Government and the Catholic clergy, the sympathies of Englishmen must in all fairness go with the former," this main point being, as far as we are able to gather from the context, that, as a matter of principle, "the clergy should obey the civil law." It appears to have escaped the writer that the whole dispute is about the application of the principle. Even the doughty Archbishop of Posen would probably admit the ordinary duty of obedience to the law, but he would plead, plausibly enough, that there must be some limit to this obligation or there would be no security against any excess of arbitrary oppression. To confine ourselves to the religious aspect of the question, it is obvious that, if the duty of civil obedience is absolute and universal, the early Christian martyrs were morally as well as legally criminal in preferring their faith to the commands of the divine Emperor. As to where the line should be drawn there is room of course for infinite diversity of opinion. Some people profess conscientious scruples about vaccination, and others about giving medicine to the sick, which the Legislature very properly disregards. But few unprejudiced observers are likely to deny that the Prussian Government has overstepped the utmost legitimate limits of civil interference in matters of conscience. Nor is it any answer to say, even supposing it to be strictly true, that Roman Catholic notions of religious duty are fanciful or erroneous. That is not a point for the decision of the State, especially of a Protestant State, so long as the moral and social interests of the community are not injuriously affected. And indeed the *Telegraph* writer, for whose sinister advocacy his clients will hardly be thankful, has too much of the instincts of English freedom not to be dimly aware of this distinction himself. He admits that many of the provisions of the Falk

laws are scarcely consistent with our notions of right and justice, and illustrates his admission by specifying nearly all of them. But these are precisely the points on which the whole controversy hinges, so that the natural inference would seem to be that "the sympathies of Englishmen must in all fairness go with the" victims of legislative injustice and not with its authors.

On one point only does the *Telegraph* argue explicitly in defence of the late Falk legislation, but, unfortunately for the argument, the exception fixed upon is just of that kind which helps to prove the rule. There is no doubt a good deal to be said in the abstract against obligatory civil marriage. Considering how closely the stability of the entire social fabric is bound up with the sanctity of the marriage tie, it has in all ages been deemed important by statesmen as well as priests to invest the matrimonial union with all the solemnity of the highest religious sanction. It was on this express ground, if we recollect aright, that a Parliamentary Commission appointed to examine the marriage laws reported some years ago against the general enforcement of civil marriage in the British Empire. But it is evident that difficulties may arise in a country of mixed religions of which this is the only feasible solution, and we are not at all prepared, after Dr. Volk's recent exposition of the present condition of affairs in the German Reichstag, to deny that such may now be the case in Germany. At all events, the civil marriage law, though it may be widely disapproved of both by the Ultramontane and Evangelical clergy, stands on a totally different ground from the laws of last May; it belongs to a distinct, not to say opposite, order of ideas altogether, and points towards a disruption of that very union of Church and State which the Falk legislation is intended to rivet more closely than ever. And the Ultramontanes, moreover, may fairly be reminded that they have themselves created the necessity for its introduction by their vexatious interference with the anti-infallibilist members of their flocks. One hindrance we will frankly admit there is, though it is not noticed in the *Telegraph*, to our forming a decisive judgment on the pending quarrel in Germany. Mr. Frederic Harrison has stated it in his accustomed trenchant manner in the current number of the *Fortnightly Review*, where he says that "the unsuspecting English reader, while accepting what is given him under the elastic title of 'Correspondence,' is really digesting, in one case, a bare memorandum drawn up in the Chancellor's 'Intelligence Department'; in another, the dithyrambic revelations of M. Karl Marx; in a third, the authentic *communiqués* of some Catholic 'martyr.'" But then he adds at once that the official "Intelligence Department" has so immense a superiority in publicity that it carries the well-informed English public nearly wholly in its hand. And the official department, we need not say, is sure to report in the sense most favourable to the Government. It may be, as the *Telegraph* suggests, "one of the most curious problems of the day" whether Prince Bismarck can succeed in setting up a new Catholic Church; but it appears to us one of the simplest truisms that he is bound to respect the legitimate liberties of the existing Church.

There are signs certainly of a spread of Old Catholic principles, both in the direct form of separate outward profession, and within the borders of the established system. Thus, even in the Chapter of Trèves there are dissidents from the Ultramontane majority. The Provost and one of the Canons have refused to sign the address of sympathy with their imprisoned Bishop. The Provost, it seems, was formerly a member of the Prussian Landtag, but was defeated at the last election by an Ultramontane candidate, and the Canon is known as an archaeologist. In Baden a country parish has been handed over to an Old Catholic pastor by the votes of a majority of the parishioners, who decided by fifty-seven to three against the Vatican dogmas. On the other hand, the Commission appointed at Munich for investigating the matter has reported against the legality of acknowledging Bishop Reinkens; but this decision is based on the provisions of the Bavarian Concordat, and may not improbably lead the Government to follow the example of Austria in rejecting it altogether. The mention of Reinkens reminds us of what certainly looks like the desperate attempt of a party which feels itself beaten to retaliate on its successful rivals. Charges of gross and habitual immorality, which have been bruited about amongst his assailants, at length found expression in two of the infallibilist organs, and the Bishop felt it due to his character under the circumstances to prosecute them for libel. His principal accuser, though cited to appear, shrank from coming forward, and the defendants were condemned with costs. A Correspondent of last week's *Tablet*, who retails the charge with undiagnosed and somewhat indecent satisfaction, must have written before the judgment of the Court was pronounced, for he affects to anticipate a different verdict. It would perhaps have been more prudent to consider the extreme improbability of such an indictment being made good against a personage who has occupied a prominent position for at least twenty years past among the German Catholic clergy as a professor, preacher, and theologian. But the *odium theologum* is apt to be a little indiscriminate in its selection of weapons of offence. Meanwhile the Archbishop of Munich has taken advantage of the celebration of the six hundredth anniversary of St. Thomas Aquinas to make what capital he can out of the alleged infallibilist teaching of the Angelic Doctor. It is a question, however, on which competent critics are divided, whether Aquinas really did teach Papal infallibility, and there can be no question at all that his opinion on the subject is in any case of little value, as it was notoriously based on authorities now acknowledged on all sides to be spurious, but

which the historical knowledge, or rather ignorance, of the thirteenth century supplied no means of correcting.

If from Bavaria we turn our eyes to Austria, there seems better hope of a peaceful solution of the ecclesiastical complications. The Austrian Government is much more moderate than the Prussian, and Cardinal Rauscher is a very different person from the Archbishops of Posen and Cologne. It has indeed been resolved to suppress the Jesuit Theological Faculty at Innsbruck—a measure clearly within the competence of the State—and a motion for the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Empire is to be brought forward after Easter by two members of the advanced Liberal party, who reckon on considerable support from the Left. But there is nothing to show that they will have the countenance of the Ministry in this extreme proposal. The long-promised memorandum of the Austrian bishops on the new ecclesiastical legislation has at last been published in the *Volksfreund*. It is a lengthy document, and bears thirty-two signatures, headed by Cardinal Schwarzenberg's and including the names of many prelates besides those who have seats in the Upper House. The various details of the proposed laws are reviewed in order, and the introduction of civil marriage is deprecated, the example of France being cited as a warning against it. And the declaration concludes with these words:—"We repeat that we do not regard the demand for justice based upon the Concordat as extinct, and we are ready to respond to the requirements of the civil authority as to the external and legal relations of the Catholic Church, in so far as they are in substantial accordance with the Concordat. But we never can or will submit to exactions perilous to the welfare of the Church." This is not the language of overt defiance, and indeed the whole document is pitched in a tone of moderation which betrays the hand of the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna, one of the most strenuous opponents of infallibilism at the Vatican Council, and one who has never eaten his words with the eager voracity of his episcopal brethren in the North. According to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the second leading paper in Germany, the manifesto is not so much directed against the proposed Church laws as intended to convey a conditional promise of submission, and its appearance is therefore held to put out of the question the threatened danger of a conflict between Church and State. Still it must be borne in mind that the Pope has himself descended into the arena, with an Encyclical by no means equally moderate in tone, and that there are some among Cardinal Rauscher's suffragans who do not reflect the conciliatory sentiments of their chief. We shall watch the progress of the debate in the Upper House at Vienna with considerable interest when the time comes, but there does not, so far as can be foreseen at present, appear to be any reason to anticipate a repetition of the Prussian ecclesiastical crisis in Austria.

THE BOAT-RACE.

THE boat-race has come and gone once more, and, as usual, we must bestow a few comments upon its chief incidents. A good many profound observations have suggested themselves to the omniscience of sporting Correspondents. We have read many learned speculations as to the effect of sliding-seats, the style of every member of each of the crews, and the illustrations afforded of the theory of the art in general. We do not propose to go far into any such questions. We frankly confess that we should be afraid of venturing beyond our depth. But we may say briefly that the secret of the race appears to us to have been a very simple one. Contemporaries, it is said, rarely understand the events which are transacted before their eyes. They have to wait for the light thrown upon affairs by the publication of memoirs and despatches. We are not in possession of any such documents on the present occasion. The distinguished oarsmen who have acted as "coaches" and "presidents" of the University crews have not seen fit to take us into their confidence. And yet, as we have said, we venture to think that we could make a very fair guess as to the really decisive circumstance. Everybody admitted that the Cambridge crew was in almost every respect superior to Oxford. They were stronger, in better training, and in better form. They were able to row a quicker stroke throughout the race; and it did not appear to us, though we do not venture to pronounce dogmatically, that the stroke lost in length what it gained in rapidity. In spite of these advantages, the Oxford crew went as fast as the Cambridge for more than half the distance; and at one period seemed to have a fair chance of winning. How is this to be explained? Simply, as we imagine, by the fact that the Cambridge boat was a bad one and the Oxford boat a good one. Directly the crews got into the wind and a little rough water, Cambridge seemed mysteriously to stop; and the mystery was easily solved by anybody who saw how very differently the two boats behaved under the same conditions. Now we will not go so far as to say that the best crew which ever rowed a University race could be reduced to the level of the worst by a slight change in the boats, but the statement would hardly be extravagant. On this as on previous occasions the ill-luck of Cambridge in this matter nearly counterbalanced their great superiority in all the other elements of fortune. Everybody knows of the celebrated race of 1859, when Cambridge was swamped, and might possibly have won in a different ship; and the same disadvantage had been very nearly fatal to the same University in a race rowed three years previously. The disadvantage, it is to be

added, did not operate against Cambridge during the race alone. The fact that their boat would not carry them had been telling against them during their whole stay at Putney; it accounts for their failure to improve as had been expected from them; and we suspect that, if that secret history of which we have spoken should ever be published, we should find that the Cambridge authorities had to contend with a severe moral depression produced by the same cause, and that the last fortnight of preparation was a time of severe trial for the tempers of the crew and their attendants. The question, therefore, which was decided at Putney last Saturday was simply this; whether a strong and well-trained crew, rowing in excellent style, could propel a bad boat through the water quicker than a crew comparatively weak in all those points could propel a good one. If there had been more wind, as there was on the following day, Oxford might have won; and if there had been less, as there was last year, Cambridge might have had an easier victory. We shall content ourselves with drawing the conclusion that in rowing, as in more serious matters, the conditions which it is convenient for historians to overlook are frequently the most important. Armies have been defeated, it is said, from the fault of the shoemaker as well as from the mistakes of the general; and, if justice were fairly distributed, Messrs. Searle, Clasper, Salter, and other builders would frequently deserve a large share of the glory or the blame which is too exclusively bestowed upon the oarsmen and their trainers. We will venture to ask in conclusion whether it is absolutely necessary for the decision of this important matter to be left to a time when no change is possible, however clearly desirable. A boat, of course, must suit the particular crew; but we should have thought it possible to make sure of at least a tolerably satisfactory boat at an earlier period than the fortnight before the race.

We will not, however, discuss a question which would take us into technical details. We turn to a matter of more importance to the Universities generally. The present race will be memorable by the Oxford men's refusal of the Lord Mayor's hospitalities. The general opinion seems to be that, whilst the mode of refusal was unfortunately objectionable, the refusal itself was perfectly right. We should, indeed, have said that the opinion was universal, instead of general, were it not that the *Daily Telegraph*, in a very characteristic article on the morning of the race, made some poetical or highly rhetorical remarks intended, so far as we could understand the beautiful language employed, to intimate a different opinion. The *Telegraph* reminded the Oxford crew that fame was the reward of the contest; and that fame would be very limited if the race were rowed on Windermere or the "Bedford level" (the level, we may observe incidentally, is not a stream but a plain; but the meaning is sufficiently clear). This means simply that, if it is the object of the crews to be cheered by a London mob, they ought to dine with the Lord Mayor. As it is our opinion that they already receive much more "fame" than is good for them, that it would be a healthier state of things if they could row a fair race at Oxford or Cambridge, and that the less the London mob has to say in the matter the better for everybody concerned, we are glad that they made the only protest in their power by refusing the Lord Mayor's turtle-soup. We think it, therefore, a cause for congratulation that, with the exception of the *Telegraph's* rhetoric about Naiads and Pindar, and the "tornado, cyclone, and Sargasso sea of shouting" which, it appears, greets a University boat-race, the tone of our contemporaries has become far more reasonable than it was a few years ago. There are, in fact, signs of a reaction. People are beginning to see that the excitement about the race has been overstrained. It has been bad for the lads themselves, for the interests of the Universities, and even threatening for the interests of the sport. The Lord Mayor, though we doubt not that his intentions were admirable, may be regarded for this purpose alone as the incarnation of the evil principle. He is the representative of the public which insists upon thrusting itself into what ought to be a purely private affair, and which, if it were not checked, would speedily corrupt whatever good qualities the sport at present possesses. The most gratifying circumstance about the race of this year is that, so far as we can judge, it appears to have excited less interest than has lately been shown; and we would hope that a more common-sense view will gradually be taken, and that London will not annually go mad over an athletic contest. When the importance of the event is estimated in a reasonable way, we see no reason why the race should not flourish, and be on the whole a healthy display of animal activity.

It has, indeed, suggested some reflections which deserve their due weight. The list of the Classical Tripos at Cambridge appeared shortly before the race, and some comparisons were natural. The young athletes who exhibited themselves at London naturally received more glory for the moment than the students who had distinguished themselves in the intellectual arena. But, it was said, both contests are an illustration of the effect of competition. The oarsmen probably damaged their frames more or less decidedly by their muscular exertions; and the victors in the classical examination no doubt over-exerted their brains. Twenty years hence the athletes will suffer from enfeebled hearts, and the students from exhausted brains. In both cases the excessive competition amongst young men leaves the seeds of injuries which are likely to be developed in future years. Though we are no friends to excessive competition, we think that this mode of stating the case is rather fallacious. The book published a year ago by Dr. Morgan showed that the quantity of disease definitely traceable to the contests on the river has been very much exag-

gerated; though he could not deny that some injury had been received. The evil resulting from over-exertion of the intellectual kind is, as we believe, of still less importance. Here and there undoubtedly a young man may be found who has permanently injured his constitution by excessive reading. But, so far as our experience has gone, these cases are the rare exception; and we can say without hesitation that, if we were to pick out the men who in later life have shown themselves capable of the most prolonged and severe intellectual labour, we should generally take those who have distinguished themselves at the Universities. If it be true that Cambridge men have not been so prominent at the Bar or in political life as was formerly the case, the reason is sufficiently clear. A high degree is a good recommendation in other professions, but it is specially valuable in the scholastic profession; and as that profession has lately become more attractive, it is only natural that many high wranglers and first-class men have taken to the career of teaching at schools and universities, where their labour is not less severe, though it leads to less conspicuous results, than in Parliament or at the Bar. With all the talk about intellectual exhaustion, we suspect that very few unequivocal cases could be produced, and that, as a general rule, the best of all preparations for strenuous labour in after-life is strenuous labour at the University. The true evil of excessive competition is of a different kind. It injures education by narrowing it rather than by making it more trying to the strength. It encourages a young man to devote himself exclusively to that kind of training which is useful in examinations, instead of that which gives him the widest culture or best develops his special idiosyncrasies. The Cambridge system, for example, forces many young men of promise to devote those years of their life which for educational purposes are most valuable exclusively to a mathematical training. However good a system of intellectual gymnastics may thus be provided, it cannot be denied that in such cases the development is strangely one-sided.

The really objectionable tendency of excessive athletic competition is of the same kind. We put aside the question of the injury actually inflicted upon the constitution. Probably the case as put by Mr. Skey was overstated; and with due precautions the evil might be still further diminished. But, in an educational sense, the evil is obvious. When that which should be the amusement of spare hours and a pleasant relief to serious work comes to be considered as the main object of a lad's University career, he must clearly be wasting precious time. We have no doubt that the sixteen young gentlemen who have just been exhibiting themselves are not only magnificent animals, but, in the best sense of a much abused phrase, are thoroughly good fellows. That at least has been our experience of their predecessors in the same career. On the other hand, they can hardly be mortal if the "cyclone and Sargasso sea" of cheering does not produce in them an exaggerated estimate of their own merits. Probably they have too much sense to sit at the feet of the *Daily Telegraph*; but in so far as they are intoxicated by the coarse incense which it offers, they are taking a false view of life and are likely to suffer in consequence. No student ought to be told, You have done your duty so as to deserve the thanks of a grateful country, because you have retained enough school-learning to scramble through your examinations and have made yourself into a finished waterman. Nor is it really sensible to tell such a lad that he is a hero because he has lived a regular life for six weeks and gone through twenty minutes of hard exertion at the end of it. A man is a hero when he risks his life or his health. To be a hero therefore in a University boat-race is to be a fool; and if a lad is not, and ought not to be, heroic for such an object, he should not be told that he is. The exercise is in every way healthy and admirable so long as it is confined within due limits; but the tendency of *Telegraphic* eloquence and Lord Mayor's dinners is to invest the whole affair with a false glory which is thoroughly mischievous, and which, we are glad to observe, shows signs of decline. The University ideal should be as high as possible. To hold up success in examinations as the natural end of three years' exertion is a very questionable doctrine; but it is still worse when athletic competition comes to stand upon the same level of popular applause. We hope that in future years the race will descend to its natural position, and the pursuit of rowing be fully understood to be an amusement instead of a profession. In that case we shall wish it all legitimate success, and we shall feel more confident that it will be beneficial as well in a sanitary as in a moral sense.

CHARTERHOUSE.

THE county of Surrey and the ancient foundation school of Charterhouse may alike be congratulated on the conjunction which has been effected between them. What Carthusian can fail to rejoice in seeing Smithfield shaken off, and his beloved "Domus" transplanted from the chimney-pots, the smoke of impending factories, and the costermongers' quarters, which formed its ancient surroundings! The *genius loci* was eminently unsavoury in the times which Mr. Thackeray—who may be called the *genius loci* in another sense—seemed never tired of immortalizing. There are doubtless not a few—boys then but men now—who remember well his visit thither to renew his recollections, with a view to shedding a pathos fresh from the life round the last days of "Colonel Newcome." It was a rare privilege to

hear his talk of old times in the form of a discursive lecture, tenderly unravelling to masters and boys the labyrinth of early recollections, not forgetting that "Red Cow" just outside the gates, "to the milk of which animal we were all so much addicted"; nor yet the Charterhouse Latin Grammar and Greek ditto, brought out by the then Head-Master, "to which amusing works we all subscribed." "Gownboys" and "Dayboys" and "Virites" are known no more. They may perhaps be representatively cherished on the *rasé* crown or adjacent slopes of a broad, bold, green knoll overhanging Godalming, but to their native site they are lost.

These remarks are suggested by the consecration on Lady Day of the newly-built chapel of Charterhouse School, the anniversary, as we learned on high authority, of the consecration of the old chapel in London. This occasioned the first great gathering within the new walls since the rustication of "Domus"—or at least of its youthful moiety—to the Surrey greensward. But although novelty is the dominant feature both of site and fabric, the institution combines the prestige of age with the vigour of youth. It is not more new than it is also old. Nor was any attempt made to force a sensation. The whole routine of the day was simple and natural—a morning service with Holy Communion, a luncheon, a serenade on the terrace (if a serenade can be at 2 P.M.) by the boys' band, then coffee and tea, and then vespers. The presence of the diocesan is of course an indispensable part of the ceremony of consecration, which was in the usual form, including a warm and hearty sermon from Dr. Haig Brown, the Head-Master. The Great Hall of the building was entirely filled at luncheon. Beyond the official circle, however, which included the Earls of Devon and Harrowby, Lord Chelmsford, the Master of Charterhouse, and the Public Orator of Cambridge University, there was rather a dearth of notables. Of living Carthusian bishops we can call to mind none except Bishop Thirlwall, who might well plead age and distance for his non-attendance. There are, we believe, two ex-Head-Masters still living, but both perhaps too remotely situated to appear. Among the enthusiastic ranks of old Carthusian *alumni* we failed to detect any of marked celebrity, whether in army, navy, law, or politics. It ought to be remembered that for a generation, if not more, Charterhouse has been, owing to the growing sense of the disadvantages of its position, a comparatively small public school. And among small numbers, although great prizes of fortune or station may opportunely fall, yet the chances are proportionably against their so falling. The Head-Master therefore judiciously fell back upon the worthies of the older period, and named an illustrious triumvirate, two of whom have passed away, George Grote, Julius Hare, and Bishop Thirlwall. Thus the two modern English historians of ancient Greece are both scored to Charterhouse; besides the greatest, as Carthusians will doubtless hold, of English humourists of recent memory, the bent of whose mind seems to have been strongly influenced by his schooldays. These together form a literary group recalling the celebrity of Addison and Steele, and not to be surpassed probably in public school annals anywhere. But, if we except one or two professional scholars of high celebrity as editors and translators, we hardly know where to look at present for Carthusian hands to pass on the sacred torch. The school indeed, we think, stayed too long in the vicinity of Goswell Street and Clerkenwell for its popularity and efficiency. There was a great want of expansiveness inseparable from the site, as well as of elasticity due to the system, or rather systems; for two communities coexisted, in some sense rivals, on one area—namely, the old pensioners and the boys. The minor evils of the difficulty of keeping turf alive for an efficient wicket, and the hardship of every moderately hard drive or cut which the fieldman misused being stopped by a brick wall, and the dangerous practice of a football "scrummage" being packed in a narrow cloister between hard walls of brick and on a hard pavement of stone, were only illustrative of the absence of elasticity and want of expansiveness to be found in the system in general. The boys' Sunday under the old system was, we fear, the most unedifying day of the week, simply owing to the routine of hours being fixed in reference to the ease of the pensioners rather than to what was advantageous for the school. The school and the *hospitium* for elderly men of narrow circumstances were too long united in a Mezertian union; they are free of each other at last—better late than never. The separation ought to have been effected a generation ago at least. Every Carthusian knows what, or rather who, was the chief obstacle; but *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. It is true that since the removal of the cattle-market from Smithfield some of the more offensive features had been abated; but the mass of brick and mortar interposed in every direction between the schoolboys and atmospheric purity had become more hopelessly dense; and the vitality of the school grew more and more to resemble that of a toad in the heart of a tree.

From this state of suspended animation "Domus" now emerges, let us hope like *Δῆμος* in the last act of the Aristophanic *Knights*, with a renewed lease of youth, dignity, and vigour. There can be no better union of happy auspices than a name of old renown united with an estate disencumbered, and a free margin for development every way. *Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo*. Charterhouse starts on a new point of departure from this greatest event in its history as a school. We congratulate the Head-Master on the chance which has thrown this new era in his days—*te consule imbit*; nor is it unfit that it should be so, since to his energetic agitation of this question of change of site the fact of its accomplishment, we believe, is in great measure due.

The school boarding-houses are said to be full to the utmost limit of their present capacity, and as the masons are still busy, and the site seems ample, we may expect that the numbers will continue to rise. As regards the architecture we hesitate to pronounce. The members of the whole pile are effectively grouped from the chief points of view; but there seems a shallowness on the whole in the reliefs of surface which perhaps indicates a limit in the ways and means rather than a lack of power in the architect to turn his opportunities to account. Of course all the fittings and accommodation in the chapel interior were extemporized. A covered way to the chapel door along the south wall is a desideratum, and we regret to see no indications of its being intended. The east end of the chancel is in Salvati's best manner, and is very effective, but the long parallelogram of the chapel area without any outlying members forms anything but an impressive interior. But out of doors nature cannot be spoilt, nor do we think that any public school has such a noble site, or presents such a magnificent outlook, and so many inspiring features of scenery. Lord Bacon long ago observed on the importance of the choice of site, wherever the establishment of a seat of learning is in question, "*Imprimis sedes apibus statioque petenda est*." Breezy leagues of heath or copse-clad upland are the chief scenery, with the meadows and river bottom and little town of Godalming below. The position and surroundings seem to warrant salubrity as completely as those of Smithfield forbade it. The change has been long in coming, but, *tandem aliquando*, it is complete.

The neighbouring gamekeepers will perhaps have a trying time of it at first, and other more strictly agricultural interests may have something to put up with. They will, however, look up under the influence of a constant and, we hope, an increasing market; and where interests pull on the whole together, the difficulties to which we refer are always found capable of adjustment. On such occasions as that of the 25th ultimo it is an unhappy necessity to drink a certain—on this occasion indeed strictly limited—number of toasts. After dinner this is bad enough, but after luncheon, with breeze and sunshine waiting outside, it is sadly tantalizing to submit in sedentary resignation. However, "let the toast pass," and the quicker the better, is all one can say. It is difficult not to pity the indispensable orators who probably keenly feel all that they inflict.

The Godalming station is an easy seventy minutes from that of Waterloo, and this convenience of access is a great point in favour of the resort of boys. Charterhouse has henceforth in this respect the advantage of Winchester, while Eton, and still more Harrow, are for some purposes of discipline inconveniently near London. The great benefit which will accrue from this well-chosen site, besides facility of access, consists in the remoteness of many vulgar forms of temptation to light-minded youth. But to complete this facility of access the half-mile or so of road between the station and the school should be decently repaired, or rather, we should say, constructed, for the most elementary principles of way-making seem to have been neglected here. Whose business it is to make this omission good we do not pretend to say, but the common interest of all concerned points in one direction—namely, to construct a road where wheels and springs may not prove unequal to their work.

The foundation of Charterhouse is now, we believe, quite open. The Governors used to nominate each about once in three years. Now competition rules. The old system was not on the whole productive of distinguished culture. Gownboys were only too well taken care of to find a stimulus in their position. They were tolerably sure of an exhibition to the University at the end of their school career; and thus, once on the foundation, they found self-exertion superfluous and generally voted it beneath young fellows of spirit. Of course there was here and there a striking exception, but this was the rule. Now, probably, the opposite extreme has set in with a rush, and a forcing system may be generated, sacrificing everything to the stimulation of intellect. The result of this change will accordingly require careful watching on the part of the authorities, who may else learn too late that the benefits of a great school include objects far broader and more suited to the multifariousness of life than a long score of academic and athletic triumphs.

SOCIAL EXTRAVAGANCE.

THE recent financial panic in America appears to have been followed by some results which must tempt many persons in this country to wish that English society might, in a mild way, be subjected to a similar discipline. It has made economy fashionable, and though economy may not be practised in the most reasonable way, still the tendency is wholesome. The *New York Times*, which distinguished itself by attacking the Tammany Ring, has since made it its mission to denounce the reckless extravagance of personal expenditure which came into fashion about the same time. It admits that its expostulations had very little effect until the panic came to sober society; but it thinks it can now report some degree of progress towards reasonable moderation and simplicity. The "shoddyites," whose wild competition in scattering money established a false standard of luxury, have for the time subsided, and people care less for the imputation of being mean "since economy has been held up as a patriotic act, and has been practised as such by those families who are in reality the true leaders of society." The number of entertainments, we are told, has greatly diminished, and their character has been comparatively inexpen-

sive. Some few "germans"—whatever that may be—have been given, but the favourite entertainment of the winter season has been the kettledrum. This seems to be an expansion of the afternoon reception known by that name in London. It is held between three and seven o'clock, and is attended chiefly by ladies, men at these hours being busy elsewhere. Not only have kettledrums been substituted for more costly parties, but the style of the kettledrum has also been subdued. The ladies dress in a much simpler and more economical manner. Postilion jackets, paniers, overskirts, &c., which used to be "positively heaped one upon the other until a lady's dress consumed forty-four yards of silk, independent of trimming," have been replaced by a polonaise and skirt which, we are assured, even when highly trimmed, do not require more than twenty-eight yards. As the materials cost from three to five dollars a yard, the retrenchment is so far a reality; but there is an impression that milliners invariably contrive to charge more for making up when the materials are cheap, and it is possible that the economy of the new fashion is less perceptible to American husbands than might be supposed. The Gabrielle costume and the long peaked waist of the time of Francis I., which, though most artistic in their effect, "require the least possible amount of material," are also very popular; but then again it does not follow that the bills are less. It is known that bonnets are never so extravagantly dear as when they are just barely visible. Economy, it appears, is also observed in the refreshments provided at these afternoon gatherings. Tea, bouillon cakes, sandwiches, and tarts are about all that the hostess thinks it necessary or fitting to offer to her guests. Those who come hoping to revel in the "Sardanapalian riot" of former seasons are doomed to disappointment. "The punch, the champagne, the hecatombs of birds, the piles of fried oysters, the tureens of the same bivalves stewed, the lobster salad," have disappeared. There are perhaps some who regret that "an assembly is no longer recognized as an occasion for feasting," and who may think that "those social devices by which people come to know each other" are all the more successful when the company has been gorged or drugged into animal contentment. It may be questioned, indeed, whether in this respect economy in New York has not gone rather astray. It is by no means certain that human beings are disposed to regard each other in the most amiable spirit when they are distended with greasy cake and flatulent tea. There is a medium between Sardanapalian riot and a modest meal of wholesome food and cheerful liquor; and American hospitality would seem to have lately taken rather an uncomfortable line.

It is melancholy to reflect how much even educated women still cling to the beads and feathers of the primitive savage, and any curtailment in the insane extravagance of skirts and flounces may be welcomed as a sign of advancing civilization. But it may be doubted whether, even in the interests of economy, it is worth while to substitute a riot of slops for an ostentatious banquet, which would be more suitably replaced by a good plain dinner. It would seem that in entertaining their friends the Americans have run from one extreme to another, but they console themselves by sitting down to better dinners than ever when they are by themselves. We are told that "while the kettledrums have been thus stunted, it does not appear that there has been any diminution in the use of table luxuries." On the contrary, there is "a constantly increasing expenditure for domestic purposes." Hospitality degenerates into tartines and tea, but "men live better at home, drink more wine, have more luxuries, and indeed are becoming more civilized, if the number of wants may be taken as an indication of civilization." Thus civilization in its latest phase in New York takes the form of pampering oneself at home, and then economizing by being shabby to one's guests. The increasing consumption of olives and foreign cheeses may perhaps be regarded as an innocent indulgence; and if it is a test of genuine patriotism to try to make believe that American champagne is very nice, the hypocrisy of the performance may be forgiven on account of its honourable motive and the private suffering which must accompany it. In the interests of public health a "Missouri Imperial Sparkling" war would probably be more to the purpose than a whisky war, if it is true that last year there was a consumption of 2,487,108 bottles of this remarkable beverage. If the upper classes of New York have given up dining, they seem to make up for it by lunching heavily. "There are houses where, if one has the *entrée*, one can drop in to lunch about 2 o'clock and find veal cutlets, cold round of beef, roasted to be eaten cold, fried oysters, and salad on the table; the butler handing round lemonade, champagne, and porter; and this sort of thing all the year round." This sort of thing may go on all the year round, but we should doubt very much whether the people who habitually partook of it would be likely to do so. Nobody could be expected to do any rational work after veal cutlets, fried oysters, champagne, and porter in the middle of the day, and a Sardanapalian riot at night would be at once more wholesome and more economical than the stupefaction which arises from a heavy meal within a few hours after breakfast, and the consequent sacrifice of the afternoon's work. We cannot congratulate American civilization on its progress in this direction. Judging by their appearance, we should think that most Americans had sufficient difficulties with their digestive systems without wantonly aggravating the national distemper by a heavy lunch, followed up by tea and hot cake at a kettledrum. Another sign of retrenchment is, it seems, visible in floral displays at entertainments. Last year there was quite "a frenzied outlay" in this direction. It appears that this frenzy is at its worst at funerals and marriages.

When any one dies friends consider it their duty to send a cross of camellias, costing 100 dollars, or a crown (150 dollars), or a wreath, or an anchor, each equally expensive, as a mark of sympathetic affection. At a marriage the wanton torture of the bride and bridegroom exceeds in ingenious cruelty even that to which they are subjected at an English wedding breakfast. Camellias, tuberoses, blush and tea roses, and other flowers are woven into the shape of a bell, sometimes of considerable size. This bell is fastened to the ceiling in one of the parlours, and the unhappy couple are placed immediately under it, with the bridesmaids grouped in a semi-circle on either side. Every guest as he comes up is expected to mumble a conventional allusion to the saying "Happy as a marriage bell." Some of these bells are said to cost as much as 600 dollars, "but these were very large." Beau Brummel, when the disordered state of his finances was represented to him, exclaimed, "Ah! I see I must retrench in the rose-water for my bath"; and the retrenchment of the Americans in flowers is equally suggestive of a wide margin of fantastic luxury.

A little touch of financial pressure might certainly be welcomed in our own country if it would have the effect of checking the extravagance of modern society; but it is to be hoped that any retrenchments which in such an event may be attempted will take a more rational direction than in America. Instead of ceasing to ask friends to dinner, it might be perfectly consistent with economy to ask them more frequently than at present, if only the conditions of dinner-giving, and, we may add, dinner-going, were made less onerous. The weak point of the dinners of the period is that, as a rule, there are too many guests and too many dishes. What is wanted would seem to be simpler dinners, attended by fewer people. Dinners might then be given more frequently, and hospitality might expand, and yet the dinners would not be more expensive than at present, and would be much more pleasant. A round table, four couples, and not more than half-a-dozen dishes, would relieve social existence of much of its oppressiveness. With a large party and a long table, a shuffling of partners at intervals might encourage hope and relieve depression. If the object of hospitality were to give pleasure to those on whom it is bestowed, it would certainly not be thought necessary to convert the entertainment into a mere exhibition of ostentatious grandeur. Many persons who have assisted at these dismal functions must have reflected with the late Mr. Walker, the police magistrate, that anybody can dine, but very few know how to dine so as to ensure the greatest amount of health and enjoyment, and must have deplored that at the present day it is still the fashion for everybody to strive after the same dull style. There is much in the *Original* to make it worth the while of some benevolent society to reprint it for circulation among the benighted middle and lower-upper classes, and the following passage deserves especial attention at the present moment:—"The affluent would render themselves and their country essential service if they were to fall into the simple, refined style of living, discarding everything incompatible with real enjoyment; and I believe that, if the history of overgrown luxury were traced, it has always had its origin from the vulgar-rich, the very last class worthy of imitation."

THE PROCLAMATION OF THE SWISS FEDERAL COUNCIL.

WE have before us the Proclamation which has been put forth by the Swiss Federal Council in preparation for the popular and cantonal vote which is fixed for April 19th. The document is of a class to which we are unaccustomed in Monarchies, and for which there would not be room in many kinds of Republics. It is not a King's Speech or a President's Message addressed to an elective Assembly from without, nor yet the speech of a Minister addressed to an Assembly from within. It is rather the advice offered by a Ministry to a Sovereign, the Sovereign in this case being no other than the nation itself, Sovereign not merely in a figure, but as exercising a real sovereignty by a formal act. The proposals for the revision of the Constitution which have passed the two Houses of the Assembly are now recommended by the Federal Council to the favourable consideration of the power which has finally to settle the matter by a vote of Yea or Nay. The Federal Council express their full approval of the measure in the form in which it is to be laid before the people, though they allow that, as a human work, it is most likely imperfect ("Wir wissen wohl dass auch dieses Werk des Menschlichen an sich trübt"). This approval of the work of the Legislature on the part of the Executive, though what we may fairly look for from the relations which exist between the two in the Swiss Federal system, is still not a matter of course. As the Federal Council has no direct share in legislation, and no negative voice on the acts of the Assembly, it is plain that a scheme of which the Federal Council did not approve might have passed the Assembly, and might be waiting for the confirmation of the Cantons and of the people. In this case however the Federal Council strongly, though in a tone of much moderation, exhort the sovereign power to accept the proposals which are laid before them. The Proclamation gives a short history of the question of revision since the rejection of the former scheme in 1872. That rejection, the Federal Council argues with much truth, was no sign that the people had made up its mind against all reform in any shape, but only that this or that part of the scheme was disapproved of. That the people were not strongly set against all

revision in any shape was shown, it is argued, by the election a few months later of a National Council a large majority of which was pledged to revision. But the Federal Council does not make the inference which we should make from these facts—namely, that if the nation is favourable to some kind of revision, but objects to this or that proposed scheme, the right thing is to give the nation the opportunity of voting for one proposal and against another, and not to force a single vote of Yea or Nay on a mass of proposals, judicial, military, educational, ecclesiastical, and strictly constitutional, all at once. We have often said this before, and we are more convinced of it by reading the very Proclamation before us. The Federal Council go through the chief points of the proposed scheme, and show, what is perfectly true in the case of most of them, that much has been yielded by the Revisionist party to the other side, whether we call it Conservative or Federalist, and they call on the nation to accept the scheme in its present shape as a fair compromise. From the proposed military changes, where it seems to be generally allowed that some change is needed, the document goes on to the legal reforms, pointing out that, as they now stand, the extreme general centralization which was so much dreaded, especially in the Romance Cantons, is there no longer. The Federal Council then refer to the direct share in Federal legislation which it is proposed to vest in the people, to the great reform by which a proper Court of Law will deal with many of those appeals on which so much of the time of the Executive and the Legislature has hitherto been wasted, and to the other great reform on behalf of the *mitrakai* or *Niedergelassenen*.

Thus far the thing is plain sailing; many of the proposed changes are undoubtedly excellent; all are matters of fair political discussion, where no wrong is done to any one, and where the defeated side has nothing to do but to submit as gracefully as it can to the judgment of the majority. But when it gets to the religious difficulty, the tone of the Proclamation seems to change. It begins to moralize and to become apologetic, to talk about the rights of conscience of all confessions, while recommending laws which are distinctly aimed at one confession only. We turn from the Proclamation to the Report of a Conservative or Catholic meeting in the Canton of Luzern which appears in the same number of the *Bund* in which we have just read the Proclamation, and we cannot but feel that the malcontents—Conservatives, Catholics, even Ultramontanes, as they may be—really have a case for themselves. The Federal Council enlarge on the special importance of the religious question, how it touches the matters which are dearest and most important to man, how in such matters man is responsible to God and his own conscience, how the State should meddle with them only so far as to maintain its own authority over its members, and to hinder the members of one confession from disturbing the rights of the members of another. The proceedings of the Catholic meeting at Sursee give us a comment on the way in which the actual carrying out of these principles is looked on in the eyes of one of the two great confessions between which the land is chiefly divided. They complain to be sure of other things in the new Constitution. They wish, for instance, to keep the vague requirement about "good morals" in the citizen of one Canton who is allowed to settle in another; they complain also of the clause which abolishes capital and corporal punishments, a question which, if the Cantons are to be independent states at all, certainly seems to be a matter of cantonal rather than of Federal concern. But their main objections are brought against the ecclesiastical articles. They complain that the 49th Article takes away the right of excommunication. And it perhaps might so be construed. The words in the French text run thus:—

Nul ne peut être contraint de faire partie d'une association religieuse, de suivre un enseignement religieux, d'accomplir un acte religieux, ni encourir des peines, de quelque nature qu'elles soient, pour cause d'opinion religieuse.

A hostile judge might easily take this to forbid any kind of spiritual censure, though surely the business of the temporal power is simply to take care that the spiritual censure carries no temporal consequences with it. They complain also of Article 50, which they say is devised in the interest of the Old Catholics. The passage to which they object runs thus:—

Les contestations de droit public ou de droit privé, auxquelles donne lieu la création de communautés religieuses, ou une scission de communautés religieuses existantes, peuvent être portées par voie de recours devant les autorités fédérales compétentes.

It is certain that we can hardly conceive such a provision as this except when controversies have arisen, such as those to which the Old Catholic movement has led. It is not the kind of provision which one would expect to find in a great constitutional pact; it reads more like an enactment made for the nonce under the influence of a momentary excitement, something like our own Ecclesiastical Titles Bill in less distinct language. It does read very much like a provision for helping the Old Catholics to get possession of the ecclesiastical property of Catholic communities. And, whether this be a good or a bad object, it is hardly the kind of object which we should expect to find aimed at in so solemn a document as a Federal Constitution. Surely, as the Constitution now stands, there is full means of appealing to the Federal power in case of any *bond fide* question of property which may arise between Catholic and Old Catholic claimants.

The Luzern Conservatives go on to complain of the 51st Article which, in addition to the old provision against the Jesuits, gives the Federal power the right to extend the same prohibition to other religious orders, which they say is meant to be used as a means

of getting rid of the Capuchins. If this be so, we can only say that any special or momentary object of this kind is not the proper object of constitutional legislation. They complain too of the 52nd Article, which forbids the foundation of new, or the restoration of suppressed, monasteries. Here again the question is not whether monasteries are good or bad things, but whether a Canton which wishes to allow monasteries should be hindered from doing so. Lastly they complain of the 68th Article, that which decrees the abolition of ecclesiastical jurisdiction ("die geistliche Gerichtsbarkeit ist abgeschafft"), as to the exact bearing of which we have already confessed ourselves puzzled. In the eyes of the meeting at Sursee it threatens to hinder the exercise of ecclesiastical authority of any kind ("bedroht in dieser allgemeinen Fassung die Ausübung jeder kirchlichen Autorität"). If the Article simply means that no temporal consequences are to follow on any ecclesiastical sentence—saving of course the temporal loss which may follow on the deprivation of an ecclesiastical office—no principle can be better; but it might be easily taken to mean something which would stand in the way of every kind of censure or rebuke administered by a bishop to an erring priest or by a priest to an erring parishioner. It is impossible not to see the spirit of all these provisions, a spirit which clearly aims at the humiliation of a particular religious body; and we cannot wonder that members of that religious body kick at legislation of this kind, especially when it comes in the shape of a Federal Constitution. All this has been brought upon the Roman Catholic body in Germany, Switzerland, and everywhere else through the outrageous conduct of their own chiefs. But the Roman Catholic body are not therefore deprived of their right to just and fair dealing. And we cannot think it just and fair dealing to put provisions of this kind, which would be harsh as a piece of ordinary legislation, in so solemn a document as the Federal Constitution. Again we ask, though it is now too late to ask, why a man should not be allowed to vote against Articles of this kind, which come so close to the nature of persecution, and at the same time to vote for the excellent proposals which are found in some other parts of the scheme?

In other respects the tone of the Proclamation is simple and dignified, worthy of an appeal made by the chosen leaders of a free people to the free people itself. There is a pleasant flavour of old times when men are addressed, not as "Gentlemen," "Messieurs," "Herren," *Kümpel*, but as "getreue liebe Eidgenossen." And whatever else may be said of the document, it shows that whoever is the mouthpiece of the Federal Council has not wholly turned his back on the noble tongue of his forefathers. Perhaps we might ourselves cherish a lurking wish to see the acts of the Everlasting League in the kindly Alamanian of Edlibach and the Schillings. But the Proclamation is easier to understand as it is, and it is at any rate Dutch and not Welsh. We must copy one sentence in the original:—

Inden hierauf folgenden, eben so sorgfältig als gewissenhaft durchgeführten Verhandlungen mussten die gesetzgebenden Räte die Ueberzeugung gewinnen, dass wenn man zu einem gedeihlichen, in höherem Grade befriedigenden Ziele gelangen wolle, der Weg freundschaftlicher Verständigung und bundesbrüderlicher Versöhnung zu betreten sei.

We should like to see how "freundschaftliche Verständigung" and "bundesbrüderliche Versöhnung" would look when translated into the jargon for which some of our German friends think it fine to exchange their own glorious tongue.

JURIES.

A PRIVATE member has given notice of a Bill with reference to Juries, but it is to be hoped that the subject will be taken up by the Government. This is just one of the things which might be conveniently dealt with at a quiet time like the present, when there are no large or exciting questions to engross attention. The fatal error of the Attorney-General's Bill last year was that it attempted to revolutionize the whole system. It might have been a very good Bill if we had been going to introduce trial by jury for the first time. There is no magic in the number twelve, and plausible reasons may be suggested why absolute unanimity should not be insisted on. These points, however, happen to have been settled in a particular way long ago, and it is unnecessary to disturb them. Twelve is, on the whole, a convenient number for a jury, not being too large for deliberative purposes, and at the same time affording a sufficiently broad representation of ordinary opinion. Nobody would think of extending the number, nor could it be reduced without weakening in public estimation the authority of the jury. If unanimity were dispensed with, it would also tend to diminish popular respect for and confidence in the verdict. In point of fact, juries generally contrive to agree, and when they are unable to do so, there is usually a reason to be found for it in the perplexing contradictions of the evidence. If a verdict were to be voted by a majority, each juror would be tempted to give his vote offhand without troubling himself to argue the question in order to bring about an agreement. The Chief Justice in his summing-up in the Tichborne case made some remarks on this point which deserve to be remembered. He told the jury to bear in mind that the great purpose of trial by jury was to obtain unanimity and put an end to further litigation; and that each jurymen was bound to address himself in all humility and all diffidence in his own judgment to the task he had to perform, and carefully to consider all the reasons and arguments which

the rest of the body were able to put forward, and not to allow any self-conceit or vain presumption of superiority on his part to stand in the way. It may be said that the verdict of a majority would paralyse an obstinate minority, but on the other hand it would encourage dissension by relieving it of the grave responsibility which now attaches to it. No serious practical grievance is connected either with the number of the jury or the unanimity demanded from them; and it is always undesirable to meddle with old traditions and customs, unless there is a strong necessity for it. It is not surprising, therefore, that there should have been a general indisposition to have anything to do with a measure which contained so many innovations as Sir J. Coleridge's Bill. There is no reason, however, why the simple and practical reforms which are really urgently required should be mixed up with experimental questions affecting the traditional constitution of the jury.

It cannot be denied that at present jurymen are not treated considerably or fairly. Attendance on a jury cannot be regarded as an attractive occupation, and it is impossible that it can be made fully remunerative to all who are engaged in it. It must always remain a service to the public rendered by private citizens at more or less cost and inconvenience to themselves. It is obvious, however, that the cost and inconvenience ought to be reduced to the lowest possible point. The recent memorial of the jury on the Tichborne case brings out very strongly one of the defects of the existing system. They have each received three hundred guineas for attendance at a trial which occupied the greater part of a year. By law they had no right to any remuneration whatever, and the Treasury probably thought that, as an act of grace, the sum which they allowed was very liberal. The jurymen, however, were under the impression that they were to be paid at the rate of two guineas a day, which would bring their claim up to 376 guineas for the whole trial, as the Court sat 188 days. An application for this rate of remuneration was made by the jury in court at the end of May; the Judges said they thought it was not unreasonable, and the counsel in the cause assented. Of course the Judges have no authority to bind the Treasury, and it appears that the officials of this department have no formal record of what passed in court, and repudiate the understanding which was then supposed to have been agreed to. Three hundred guineas may or may not be an adequate return for the personal sacrifices which the jurymen had to make; but nothing can be more unseemly than that there should be any higgling on such a matter. There ought to be no room for higgling. What should be paid to jurymen ought not to be a matter of favour on one side or of bargaining on the other. It should be regulated by fixed and published rules, so that there should be no misapprehension on the subject. Jurymen are quite as much an essential part of the judicial establishment as the judges themselves; and they ought to be recognized as such, and provided for in a regular way. What would be said if, in the middle of a trial, the judge were to interrupt the proceedings by a piteous appeal for an increase of salary, and beg the jury to endorse his claim. It would at once be denounced as scandalous and indecent that it should be possible for such a question to be raised in this manner. The judges are very properly paid according to a fixed scale of salaries, and there ought also to be a fixed scale, which should not be departed from, for the remuneration of jurymen. It is true that special jurymen are entitled to a guinea fee, but they are occasionally, we have heard, subjected to attempts on the part of suitors to beat down their terms. There are persons who make a business of serving on juries who are quite willing to fall in with this practice; but it requires no argument to show that bargaining with a jury is quite as improper as bargaining with a judge. Common jurors are not entitled to any fees, although various small sums are usually paid to them. It may be questioned whether, if any jurors should be bound to serve for nothing, it should not be special jurors, who are men of some means, rather than common jurors, who are comparatively poor men, to whom the loss of a day's work is a serious deprivation. The Tichborne jury have been paid at a higher rate than would be allowed to special jurors in an ordinary case; but it can hardly be said that the two guineas which they claimed is an excessive compensation for neglecting private affairs in order to discharge a public duty. The aggregate cost of the jury in this case amounts, no doubt, to a formidable sum; but a trial of this kind is altogether out of the ordinary way. Most trials are concluded in a day or two, and a more just and liberal treatment of jurymen in ordinary cases would not amount to a serious tax either on suitors or on the public. It is certainly desirable that the expenses of legal proceedings should not be unduly increased; but, on the other hand, those on whom the burden falls of serving on juries have also a claim to some consideration. In strict logic it might be argued that the State ought to bear the expense of providing jurors as well as judges; but at least jurymen ought not to be neglected, from whatever source their payment may be derived.

It is unnecessary to quote Blackstone in support of the proposition that the participation of the public in the administration of justice is of the utmost importance. Chief Justice Cockburn lately expressed the conclusion on which all authorities are agreed when he said that a jury assisted by a judge is a far better tribunal for the elucidation of the truth than a judge unassisted by a jury. But if juries are to be employed it is important that they should be composed of men of good character and intelligence, and that they should be encouraged to discharge their duty willingly and cheerfully. It cannot be said that the treatment to which they are at present subjected is calculated to produce these results. Jurors

ought to receive some moderate remuneration according to a fixed scale, not for their services, but for the inconvenience, and perhaps loss, to which they are put in withdrawing themselves from their private business; and common jurors are, to say the least, as fully entitled to this compensation as special jurors. Again, the accommodation at present provided for juries is shamefully deficient; they have to sit on hard wooden seats, penned up in narrow boxes, and packed so closely together that they can scarcely obtain the relief of a change of posture. There is no reason why a jurymen should not be allowed to make himself as comfortable as a judge, who has a convenient desk, a comfortable easy-chair, and as many cushions as he likes. Before a jurymen is admitted to the box, he has probably to spend hours and perhaps days waiting to be called in the crowded and stifling back benches of the Court. This is not exactly, one would say, the best sort of preparation for the calm and unruffled exercise of judicial functions. When at last his turn comes to assist in the administration of justice, he finds himself sick, sore, and weary, irritated by the wanton tortures to which he has been subjected, and faint with mere physical exhaustion and fatigue. Nothing, in fact, can be more cruel and barbarous than the whole of the arrangements for the accommodation of jurors in court. If a box is provided for them, that is thought to be enough. Sir J. Coleridge last Session stated that it was notorious that great corruption was practised in summoning jurymen, and that while some persons escaped, others were called much more frequently than they should be. The changes which he proposed in order to cure this evil would no doubt answer the purpose, and there is no reason why they should be connected with any alteration in the constitution of the jury. Service as a juror is one of the few obligations, apart from the mere payment of rates and taxes, which now fall upon an ordinary citizen. He need not be afraid of being pricked for sheriff, and his chance of being drawn for the militia is equally remote. It is a good thing that private persons should occasionally be called to render personal service for the benefit of the community, but it is equally absurd and unjust that the service should be made wantonly irritating and oppressive.

THE ALLIANCE AGAIN.

THE atmosphere of the new Parliament is not likely to favour crotchets. The United Kingdom Alliance has been received with so much courtesy and patience by the Home Secretary that we are reminded of the late Lord Campbell at the Old Bailey ordering a chair for a murderer whom he afterwards sentenced to be hanged. The deputation of the Alliance successively delivered the same speeches that have been heard from them a hundred times before. Mr. Cross is used to listening to counsel at Quarter Sessions, and will not therefore be easily disturbed by long-winded oratory. It is all in the day's work, and Mr. Cross will earn considerable reputation by his labour if he is able to repair the blunders of the last Parliament in reference to the sale of intoxicating liquors. We ought not to represent, however, that there was no novelty in the speeches of this deputation, for one member of it propounded a view of the method of successfully conducting International Exhibitions which certainly we never met with before. "The Great Exhibition of 1851 was the only one in which intoxicating liquors were not sold, and it was a remarkable fact that this was the most successful of all Exhibitions." It probably did not occur to the speaker to reflect that repetition becomes tedious, and that it is possible to have too much even of such good things as International Exhibitions and speeches from members of the Alliance. If, however, in course of years, South Kensington should be at a loss for novelty, the managers can if they please announce an exhibition upon teetotal principles. It is possible that the managers of the Crystal Palace may be unwillingly compelled to make an experiment of this kind, and, if they do, we shall see how it succeeds. In that case, we shall expect to see a grand exhibition of glass and stone bottles in the grounds. The same speaker touched upon the difficulties experienced by those who were endeavouring to establish houses where non-intoxicating liquors were sold through the presence of licensed houses. But we venture to say that this difficulty may be overcome by perseverance. It is not merely that the public-house is attractive, but the coffee-shop is positively repulsive. The drink, whether it be called tea or coffee, is abominable, and the tables and benches are arranged so as to inflict the utmost possible discomfort. If capital could be judiciously expended in this branch of business there are fortunes to be made out of it. A large capital has been expended in rendering public-houses attractive to a taste which we admit is coarse and barbarous, and the Alliance desire to destroy this capital in order to make clear way for their own experiments. But they must be content to work under competition, and if they will work steadily they will succeed. The inhabitants of London will not fail in the long run to appreciate and reward attempts to promote their comfort and convenience. A single well-conducted coffee-house in a busy part of London would do more good to the cause of temperance than all the speeches that were inflicted on the Home Secretary, and all the reports of those speeches that the Alliance can print and circulate.

The Alliance News has, however, lately entered upon more useful work by collecting and publishing opinions of medical men

on the subject of intemperance. There is no doubt that very many persons in the upper and middle classes of life take more stimulants than is good for them, and they are encouraged, or at least not discouraged, in doing this by their medical attendants. In almost all popular novels "soda and brandy" is largely consumed, and upon the stage the consumption of liquors must be no inconsiderable item of expenditure. The conduct of the Alliance towards the mass of society resembles that of the Puritans after the restoration of King Charles II. Instead of mingling with the world, and trying to infuse into the light-hearted Cavaliers a wholesome savour of their own gravity, they stood aside and scowled and awaited Divine judgment on a generation which had flung aside the fetters they imposed. The gloom, pertinacity, and long-windedness of the Puritans are well represented in the leaders of the Alliance, and we are not concerned to deny that those qualities are sometimes useful, and at most only troublesome. Unless it be the Home Secretary, no man is compelled to listen to their speeches, which are perhaps more tedious than anything that has been uttered since persecution ceased to stimulate the eloquence of the Covenanters. But it is a pity that they cannot be shorter and more practical. Instead of trying to shut up the grocers' shops as regards the sale of wines, it would be easy to show that many of these grocers sell articles which are necessarily deleterious. Without prejudice to the question whether good wine is a good thing, we may admit that bad wine is a bad thing, and that most of the wine sold by retail is very bad indeed. Still the human system may become used to bad wine, and may take a good deal of it without mischief. One of the doctors quoted by the *Alliance News* said, "Patients tell me they cannot do without their glass of wine during the day." He proceeds to examine the case of an old lady who required, or supposed herself to require, a glass of wine every day at 11 o'clock. He thinks that the wine did her no good, and that if she had chosen to try she might have used herself to do without it. He admits that she would have been uncomfortable for some time, and we may ask, why could she not be let alone? Every scheme of life that is not based on fanaticism or imposture supposes some indulgence in creature comforts. As the omnibus-driver said of his cold tea, it is something to look forward to—whether a glass of sherry at noon or a tumbler of grog at night. Of course if we could all take pleasure in uttering or hearing speeches about the Permissive Bill we should not need any other form of stimulant. The same doctor refers to the Hudson's Bay men, who take no spirits with them when they go hunting. But he forgets that every ounce has to be considered in the equipment of a hunting party, and that the same weight of tea supplies much more comfort and refreshment than spirits. We think it probable, however, that the liability of men to lose self-control in the use of spirits may have helped to induce the managers of the Company to prohibit them. A similar regulation prevails during the sheep-shearing in Australia, but it must be remembered that the shearers are well supplied with tea during their work, and it is to be feared that most of them look forward to a heavy drinking bout when it is finished.

This suggests a remark applicable to the cases brought forward by the Alliance of estates or districts in the United Kingdom where prohibition is patiently endured. Did they never hear of the soldier who said that he did not care for his pint of beer a day, but liked to have a "good drunk" once a month? Do we not know of people who live irreproachable lives in the towns where all their outgoings and incomings are known, but occasionally and unostentatiously disappear? The soldier of unimproved times bore the hardships and privations of the siege in hopes of the unbridled license which was to follow the successful assault. It is easy to be self-denying sometimes, or even often, but the difficulty is to be self-denying altogether. Indeed the water-drinkers would hardly deny, and some of them take pleasure in asserting, that they eat more and with greater relish than the drinkers of beer and wine. One might readily collect medical opinions that many people eat too much, and do themselves as much harm thereby as others do by drinking. Mr. Stanley, when he travelled in search of the lamented Dr. Livingstone, made tea and coffee his principal drinks, partly perhaps for health, and partly for convenience of carriage. But he carried a bottle of champagne all the way from the coast to Ujiji that he and Livingstone might drink together in worthy liquor when they met. This fact alone ought to convince the Alliance that they are fighting against human nature. Many of their supporters probably think that, although prohibition may never be carried, yet the organization is valuable to procure restraint. The objection to this view of the matter is that they have provoked an organization on the other side as powerful and determined as their own, and they make the Licensing Acts a subject of the highest political importance.

The best service that reasonable men can render to their country at present is to restore this question, if possible, to its proper place. The Home Secretary may do at least one good thing easily, and that is to render the licensing law intelligible. Those who expect relief from irritating prohibitions will do well to remember that the Government may not be prepared to undo that which they would not themselves have done. They are watched by a band of implacable zealots who will agitate to the utmost on the smallest pretext. We have no scruple in saying that some of the changes made in London under the last Licensing Act are inconvenient and annoying, but it does not necessarily follow that we should advise further changes. A bad law well administered may be tolerable, and the publicans will do well

to remember that they have a clear gain in substituting Mr. Cross for Lord Aberdare at the Home Office. Only let it be understood that there is to be an end of niggling both in making the law and administering it. The Alliance may, however, disabuse their minds of the notion that they are going to shut up the grocers. We may have our own opinion as to the quality of grocer's sherry, but people are used to it, and will have it. We think also that the superior class of mechanics who are getting high wages will enjoy them after their own fashion either in their own homes or at public-houses. Indeed, we may safely leave the Alliance to a hopeless contest against the tendencies of the age. Archbishop Manning, who is one of their most distinguished leaders, thinks that if a public-house were set up in a fashionable West-End street, it would speedily be got rid of. But if he will look rather more closely at the West-End of London, he will find that public-houses of rather superior quality are sufficiently abundant; and if he will taste the beer, he will find it excellent. In fact, the customers of these houses will have comfort and quality, but they do not insist on having a public-house built in the middle of Grosvenor Square—perhaps for this reason among others, that it would cost too much money to keep up.

POLITICS IN THE ISLE OF MAN.

THE Isle of Man has undergone a sort of *coup d'état* in which the Lieutenant-Governor humbly imitated Mr. Gladstone. The island is, or lately was, engaged in a general election, and we have examined the columns of *Mona's Herald* to discover what are the questions likely to be agitated in the House of Keys. It appears that there are in Man the Government and the patriotic party, and the principal topics of discussion are finance, the franchise and ballot, and the Permissive Bill. A candidate on the patriotic side was reported to have declared that he was "opposed to taxation of every kind," but he explains that he was misunderstood, and only pledged himself to keep a sharp eye on expenditure. We gather that representative institutions are only eight years old in Man, and were conferred to facilitate taxation. The popular journal eloquently warns Manxmen against the extravagance of their Government, which has been lately shown by spending 700*l.* in sinking a well to supply the pump of a Lunatic Asylum with water. This sum is equal to a rate of a penny in the pound for the whole island. If water is so costly, we should not think that the Permissive Bill would make much progress. Indeed one of the candidates for election said, with laudable frankness, that he believed it would be just as possible to put a law in force that the lads should not kiss the lasses. The revenue of the island has been mortgaged for harbour works, of which the cost, as usual, largely exceeds the estimate. Probably the works were considered necessary to render the island accessible by visitors; and the practical question appears to be whether the visitors spend enough money in the island to make it worth while to build harbours for their reception. Little is likely to be got out of dues on vessels entering these harbours, because, if those vessels bring goods for consumption in the island, the dues are merely added to the price, and if they bring passengers, that which is taken from these passengers in one way must be allowed to them in another. At all sea-side places as much is got out of visitors as possible, and no ingenuity can get more. It appears to us, therefore, that Mona has manifestly entered upon a career of civilizing progress of which conclusive evidence is afforded by the increasing deficit of her revenue. Of course the harbour works will cost more than the estimate, and taxes must be imposed to pay the interest on borrowed money. The question whether land or personalty ought to bear the burden will be settled by imposing it impartially on both.

A candidate for the town of Ramsey bearing the historic name of Christian may be taken as an example of what we should call among ourselves a Liberal in politics. In the first place, he believes in the power of legislation to advance the moral and material advantage of a community, and it is decidedly comfortable for a member of Parliament to be able to believe in the efficacy of the work which he himself shares. Since the election of the first reformed House of Keys more has been done, he says, for the welfare of the country than during any former similar period of time. There are, we believe, enthusiasts among ourselves who are capable of describing in similar terms the course of British legislation since 1868, to which, however, cold-blooded observers have applied the phrase "meddling and muddling." As regards the future of the island, the Liberal programme includes increased control by the House of Keys over expenditure, which may perhaps not be incompatible with an increase of the expenditure itself. A better provision for the relief of the poor is promised, which, while meeting the fair claims of the indigent, shall avoid the cost and wasteful management of England. This sounds well; but when each lunatic in an asylum costs 40*l.* a year, and 700*l.* is spent upon a pump, we doubt whether economy in pauper management is likely to be attained. Another proposal is certainly in one sense of the word economical; but we should be sorry to see it included in the programme of any political party among ourselves. "The entire suppression of the Insular Volunteer force, which involves a large annual grant and is utterly useless," is suggested as a step towards "the wise administration of the surplus revenue" of the island. We do not know whether the Liberal party in Man proposes to trust for its security to the

strength of Britain or the forbearance of Britain's enemies; but we should have thought that an efficient Volunteer force would be regarded by patriotic Manxmen as the best evidence of the moral and material progress of their community. In a small island containing several forts and castles such a force would find itself under the best conditions for effective service, and if the Volunteer force cannot be placed on a satisfactory footing, we shall have small faith in the capacity of Manxmen for popular government. Another candidate places himself on the simple platform of "No more Taxes," and intimates his opinion that "our representative House of Keys" has been sailing for the last seven years on the wrong tack. He thinks that the utility of every measure to be proposed in the new House may be tested by this rule, "No more Taxes"—which has at least the merit of simplicity. If he should be sent to the House of Keys he would say to the talking members of it, "Very good, gentlemen, I will sit and listen to you, but no more taxes."

The island in which these momentous questions are agitated is about thirty miles long and from eight to eleven miles wide. It was, as many readers will remember, held under a Royal grant by Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and on his attainder for treason was granted by King Henry IV. to William Stanley and his heirs, afterwards Earls of Derby, in recompense for aid in putting down the rebellion of Henry Percy and his son Hotspur. James, Earl of Derby, a devoted adherent of King Charles I., was taken prisoner and executed at Bolton in 1651. His wife Charlotte, of the French house of La Tremouille, defended Castle Ruthin, in the Isle of Man, to which she retired, until Christian, on whom she relied, and who had the command of her forces, capitulated to the generals of the Parliament. The island was granted by the Parliament to Lord Fairfax, whose daughter married the Duke of Buckingham. But King Charles II., on his restoration, gave the island to the Earl of Derby, son of the Earl who had been beheaded. These are the historical facts on which Scott founded his novel *Peveril of the Peak*. "King of Men," says the young Earl of Derby, yawning over a page of Homer; "I hope for Agamemnon's sake that he had a merrier office than being King of Man." The Kingdom, or rather Lordship, of Man passed from the Earls of Derby to the Dukes of Athol, and was sold by them in the last century to the King of Great Britain. Perhaps, if representative government and newspapers had been invented in the seventeenth century, the Earl of Derby would not have had to complain of the dullness of the office of King of Man. The Lieutenant-Governor will shortly meet the House of Keys, of which some members are pledged to the broad principle of "No more Taxes," while members in general are prepared to insist on economy in harbour works, coupled with suitable provision for the trade of the particular town which the member happens to represent. Economy, unlike charity, does not begin at home. The young Earl of Derby supposed that the three legs without a body were devised as the most preposterous device to represent his most absurd Majesty of Man. Perhaps they might be taken as a symbol of an island which has three or more expensive harbours, and almost no area of land to support producers and consumers. In old times the men went fishing, and the harvest, such as it was, had to be reaped by women. Farming is still, we believe, the most important occupation of the island, and we observe that a candidate takes credit to himself for knowing nothing about agriculture, and therefore possessing a mind likely to be receptive of the views of his constituents. Our own notion is that the Isle of Man prospered in a certain sense as long as it was a focus of contraband trade and afforded protection to debtors, outlaws, and smugglers under the rule of its hereditary lords. But it is hardly conceivable that any trader should carry goods thither for the mere purpose of carrying them away again. The Manxmen appear to have got Home Rule if they can make anything of it, but it is to be feared that neither Imperial nor local Parliament can create trade by the simple process of building harbours. We see advertisements of several hotels and lodging-houses, and we assume that the ordinary sea-side lounge is as well off in Man as anywhere else, when he gets there; but then getting there is the difficulty. Our effeminate generation complains even of the passage—fraudulently represented by steamboat managers as lasting only eighty minutes—from Dover to Calais, and why should they go to the Isle of Man by water when they can go to other sea-bathing places by land? After all, one watering-place is as good as another and better. You want a beach and pier to lounge upon and a ruined castle for picnics and flirtation, and these the Isle of Man doubtless supplies. Perhaps, as the land is chiefly farmed, the trout streams of which Scott speaks have not been poisoned by mines or manufactories. But if there are no fish to be caught, there are doubtless young ladies to be courted, and we can only hope that young gentlemen who visit the island may have as good a time as Julian Peveril had with Alice Bridgenorth, and may not feel their ardour so disagreeably chilled as his was when it comes to "speaking to papa." An account of the Isle of Man written five-and-thirty years ago states that all its laws are contained in one small volume, and that there are no barristers and few attorneys, as suitors generally plead their own causes. It is to be feared that the progress of civilization has enlarged the statute-book since that time. There appears, however, still to prevail great simplicity of manners, and the high-handed Countess of Derby who caused Christian to be shot would, we think, have sympathized with the Vicar of a parish who lately horsewhipped a member of his School Committee. Some attempt was made to bring about a settlement of this case, but it was broken off on the Vicar requiring

from the complainant an undertaking that he (the Vicar) should be at liberty to flog him when he gave the Vicar the lie direct. The High Bailiff, with a lamentable insensibility to the value of this system of Church discipline, bound the Vicar over to keep the peace, and in default of bail committed him to prison. It appears to be the practice to elect ministers—but probably only Nonconformists—to the House of Keys. This is shown by the fact that a deputation waited on the Rev. W. B. Christian to ask him to become candidate for the town of Ramsey. We cannot help wishing that this pugnacious Vicar could be sent to the same Assembly and could apply the reasoning which he used in his own School Committee. If any member of the other side contradicted him in the heat of debate, the reverend member could produce his whip and bring the argument to a summary conclusion. In such presence the only safe line of debate would be to repeat "No more Taxes." Even Sir Lucius O'Trigger could hardly make a quarrel out of that.

REVIEWS.

THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATION OF LORD ELLENBOROUGH.*

WE must confess to a tendency to prejudice at first starting against a book which is printed throughout in inverted commas. The use of these marks in printing is to distinguish between original writing and quotation, but one might as well use inverted commas in writing a letter as employ them throughout a volume which consists entirely of letters. Otherwise no fault can be found with the editing of this volume. To have appended a really useful commentary in explanation of the correspondence of which it is made up would have required an unusual degree of knowledge of the subject-matter. Lord Colchester has therefore wisely chosen to print the correspondence without note or comment of any sort, and the letters are so clear both in style and matter that they could hardly have been better reading if prepared specially in view to publication.

The first, and nearly a third, part of the volume consists of letters addressed by Lord Ellenborough to the Queen during his administration of India, and which certainly assume a remarkable degree of knowledge of the subject on the part of the illustrious recipient. We believe that such narrative letters are still submitted by the Viceroy of India, although not in the same degree of fullness and frequency as these of Lord Ellenborough; but after one's curiosity is satisfied by learning the terms employed by a Governor-General when addressing Royalty, the reader will turn with greater interest to his correspondence with the Duke of Wellington, Lord Ellenborough's share in which contains a consecutive and fairly complete account of his proceedings. The correspondence turns of course almost wholly on operations of war, for with these Lord Ellenborough was mainly concerned, and the reader will probably at once look to find what was the Governor-General's confidential opinion, on his arrival in India, of the situation in Cabul. And thus much appears plain, that Lord Ellenborough failed, like many others, to see through the mists which surrounded it after the so-called destruction of the British army. There seems to have been no clear perception on his part of the fact that as a military catastrophe the loss had been greatly exaggerated, that the larger part of our forces in that country were still intact and in good case, and that the disaster which had overtaken the remainder was not due to any merits of the enemy, but to the extraordinary imbecility displayed on our side. Further it does not appear that Lord Ellenborough at all apprehended the paramount necessity for re-establishing our reputation by vigorous retaliation and recovery of the ground which we had lost—in fact, by making the advance which was afterwards carried out. All his aim seems to have been to withdraw the remaining garrisons as quickly as possible. It is not of course at all wonderful that the Governor-General, arriving a stranger to the country, should be infected with the despondency which at the time possessed almost the whole Indian service; but certainly his conduct at this crisis does not exhibit the superior military foresight which his admirers have claimed for him. And if Lord Ellenborough at this time did not rise higher than those about him in his views about the proper course to pursue in Cabul, he seems to have been equally blind as to the extraordinary risk run from the establishment of our faulty base of operations beyond the Indus, with the Sikh nation between our troops and their supports. It was not in reality the Afghans, but a rising of the Sikh soldiery—even then turbulent and mutinous—in our path that was to be most feared. Had this happened not a soul could have escaped from the force beyond the Indus, and we should have gone nearer to losing India than even in the Mutiny; but Lord Ellenborough appears to have had scarcely a suspicion of the danger. He, like every one else, underrated the military power of the Sikhs, although at a later period he foresaw clearly the coming struggle with them.

On the vexed question of Lord Ellenborough's action regarding the British prisoners in Afghanistan these letters throw a good deal of interesting light, while confirming the account made public

* *History of the Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough, in his Correspondence with the Duke of Wellington.* To which is prefixed, by permission of Her Majesty, Lord Ellenborough's Letters to the Queen during that period. Edited by Lord Colchester. London: Richard Bentley & Son. 1874.

in Sir John Kaye's history of the war. In his letter to the Queen of the 21st April, 1842, he reports having directed the retirement of General Nott on Sukkur and the Indus, and states the point for consideration to be whether, the troops having been withdrawn from a state of peril, they should again advance upon Afghanistan by a new and central line of operation, or whether it would not be better to fall back on India and do nothing more. There is not a word about rescuing the prisoners. Again, in a letter to the Duke of Wellington written in June 1842 (after Pollock had relieved Sale at Jellalabad), he says that, besides the difficulty of moving Pollock's army (not forwards but backwards), from want of transport,

A greater difficulty exists in the influence of the political agents, the men anxious for revenge, and the others naturally clinging to the hope of relieving the prisoners. All these, since his arrival at Jellalabad, have got round Major-General Pollock; have led him to misunderstand the plainest instructions, to miscalculate the value of objects, and to act on the passion of others, not upon his own reason.—P. 253.

From this Lord Ellenborough was evidently opposed at that date to making any effort in favour of the prisoners. And in a letter to the Queen written in the previous month he reports that, while he has authorized the exchange of prisoners, he will not agree to any ransom, adding that "the same care must be taken in effecting the release of the lowest sepoy as for effecting that of the first European" (p. 32). A very proper sentiment, if any effort had been made to obtain the release of either. It must in fairness be added that the Duke of Wellington himself writes in reply:—

Great interest is felt in this country for the fate of these prisoners, particularly for the ladies; and I would incur some risk and some expense to save them, if any such prospect or opportunity should offer. But it must never be lost sight of that even a successful operation—an attack upon the point of succeeding even upon the castle in which they may be in confinement, the surrounding the village or town in which they should be residing, supposing them to be in such locality—would not of necessity give you possession of their persons. On the contrary, such a course might compel those who keep them as prisoners immediately to put them to death.—P. 273.

The Duke certainly goes on to say that the presence of a victorious army in Afghanistan might exercise a useful moral effect, and influence negotiations for the surrender of the prisoners; but his cold and cautious advice may fairly be deemed to amount to approval of what was generally considered Lord Ellenborough's unworthy action in the matter at first. However, all's well that ends well. Nott and Pollock were allowed to go to Cabul, which they did with trifling resistance and astonishingly small loss; and by a piece of fortunate treachery the prisoners were restored, and the army was drawn off from Afghanistan to be received in triumph by the Governor-General at Ferozepore at the head of the army of reserve.

We have not space here to discuss the conquest of Scinde, which followed next. The history of this transaction has already been given to the world in an authentic form, and the present contribution is valuable chiefly for the light it throws upon Lord Ellenborough's own view of the matter, and the transparent sophistry with which he justifies to his own mind this act of spoliation. So long as our armies were beyond the Indus, and it was all-important to retain Scinde as a safe base of operations, we spoke the Ameers fair. As Lord Ellenborough says at several places in this correspondence, one thing at a time; but, the danger over, there was an immediate change in the Governor-General's tone, and certainly a better example of how to pick a quarrel with a weaker party is scarcely to be found even in Indian history. Given a Governor-General vainglorious, an army looking for employment, and a general burning to distinguish himself, and the issue is soon arrived at. The politicals, that is, the men who knew the country, the people, and their language, are discredited; negotiations are entrusted to a general ignorant on all these points; and the Ameers are soon bullied into fighting, which they did gallantly enough, and finally their country is taken from them. That the annexation of Scinde was politically advantageous to the British is little doubtful, and the people of the country may have benefited by the change, but that the proceeding was quite unjustifiable hardly admits now of doubt. It is an amusing illustration of the power of self-deception that we find Lord Ellenborough descanting with satisfaction on the comfortable state in which the Ameers find themselves in their exile on the wilds of the Bengal frontier, so comfortable, indeed, that they are thinking of sending for their wives and families.

Scinde conquered and the China war concluded—a quarrel with the picking of which Lord Ellenborough had nothing to do, but which he followed up with great energy—there came next the brief and decisive campaign of Maharajpore. It seems very doubtful if this war could have been long staved off by any degree of caution, while there can be no doubt as to the wisdom of seizing any fair opportunity to suppress a powerful and scarcely governable military force which had risen up in the centre of the Empire, so that we might be left free to prepare for the coming struggle with the Sikhs. That this struggle was inevitable Lord Ellenborough saw clearly enough; indeed his letters are full of references to the subject, while it is to be inferred that, if he had remained much longer at the head of the Indian Government, we should have advanced into the Punjab to put down the Sikh army, instead of awaiting its attack on our side of the Sutlej. In that case, by choosing our own time we might have been better prepared, but the Sikhs fighting in defence of their country would probably have shown even a better front than they actually did, while clearly Lord Ellenborough did not appreciate their fighting

qualities at their full value; although it should be in fairness added that closer observers, including such a man as Sir Henry Lawrence, who had had ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with them, were no wiser.

Lord Ellenborough's recall was due not so much to disapprobation of the annexation of Scinde as to the personal animosity excited against him in the Court of Directors. The Governor-General, as is well known, made a dead set at the Indian Civil Service, openly expressing his preference for military officers and courting the popularity of the army at the expense of civilians. This of course was to wound the Directors in their tenderest point, for the Civil Service was the home of their offspring; but he also offended them by writing direct to the Board of Control instead of to the Secret Committee of the Court (which was in reality the Board under another name), by omitting to communicate to his own Council his proceedings while absent from them, and generally by overriding rules and disregarding official etiquette. Considering the composition of the Court of Directors, even nominal subordination to such a body must naturally have been galling to a proud and able man. Lord Wellesley chafed under it as restlessly as did Lord Ellenborough, and made his relations with them a source of continual vexation to himself. The wise Duke, however, in these letters continually advises prudence, conciliation, and adherence to prescribed form. Thus when Lord Ellenborough, in writing to him, pleads urgency as a reason for incurring expense for barracks and other objects without the previous sanction of the Court, the Duke replies:—

I anxiously wish that you had followed the course pointed out by your own regulations in carrying into execution these measures, for I am certain that it is yourself that, in the year 1830, made the regulation to which the Court of Directors refer in their Report, forbidding the execution of any work without their previous sanction which should cost more than 10,000 rupees. I am aware that some inconvenience might have been felt, and some additional expense incurred, by the delay for a few months to execute these works, till the consent of the Court of Directors could have been received. But I have sufficient experience and knowledge of these matters to be able to measure accurately the extent of the inconvenience attending the delay, and I am certain that in public opinion it would not be allowed to weigh against the inconvenience consequent on allowing a departure from one of the fundamental principles of the Government of these British possessions.—P. 374.

This was sound advice, which others besides Lord Ellenborough may take to heart with advantage; but indeed it is not necessary to override the authority of one's superiors in order to exercise authority oneself. No Governor-General ever wielded more absolute power than Lord Dalhousie, and none ever acted more constitutionally or within rule. His demeanour to the Court was always scrupulously deferential, while, by carefully bestowing a liberal share of the good things at his disposal on the sons and relatives of individual Directors, he made himself personally extremely popular with them. The Scotchman was thus wiser in his generation than the Englishman. But Lord Ellenborough's vanity exhibited itself in general disparagement of almost all who served under him. According to him his great deeds were always performed with indifferent tools, to the greater merit, of course, of the master workman. Thus of Nott he says (p. 252), "I regret to say that in Major-General Nott I do not entertain the smallest confidence as an officer. He is a brave man, but his own troops do not respect him as a general." (It is proper to add that he afterwards took a juster view of Nott's qualifications.) Of Pollock he writes (p. 257), "I cannot make a general, and it [the army] wants that more than anything else . . . If he had any real mind he would not be in the hands of the boys about him." The politicals, who, whatever their faults, were certainly the picked men of the army, are dismissed contemptuously whenever referred to, as a harebrained lot without sense or discretion, and especially obnoxious because holding the Afghans cheap. As for the services generally, "there is a sad want of business-like habits everywhere. Men work but to small account. I have no assistance" (p. 445). Of his Council he can hardly speak too contemptuously; and when, acting on the Duke's advice, he returned to Calcutta to rejoin his Council, he writes after a month's residence there (p. 384), "The experience of that time satisfies me that, although the communications necessary with the Council consume time and delay business about twenty-four hours at least, more commonly forty-eight hours, they do not in the slightest degree affect the ultimate decision." As if in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases that come before a Cabinet or a Council a delay of two days was of the smallest importance. This is an amusing illustration of the Governor-General's vanity, not to say common sense. Lord Dalhousie never complained of his tools, nor had he occasion to do so. In his day the Indian services were found equal to any demand made on them.

(To be continued.)

PARKER'S INTRODUCTION TO GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.*

THIS new edition of Mr. Parker's little book has become almost a new work as compared with the editions of 1849 and of 1861. In all its stages it is a curious study. No man knows the details of mediæval architecture in England and in a large part of the Continent better than Mr. Parker. No one has more freely given time, energy, and money for the advancement of his favourite study. Of English domestic architecture Mr. Parker is confessedly

* *An Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture.* By John Henry Parker, C.B. Fourth Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Oxford and London: James Parker & Co. 1874.

the master. We listen to him when he explains a house as we listen to Mr. Clark when he explains a castle. And we listen to him just as much when he explains a church, so long as he keeps to its details and to the dates which are proved by the use of such and such forms of mouldings and tracery. It is when the subject calls for anything like historical knowledge or artistic perception that Mr. Parker breaks down. And this is the more to be regretted because, in each of the changes which his book has gone through, he has clearly striven to widen and strengthen his ground. The book started from a narrow insular basis; it was all about England. Mr. Parker has been constantly putting in matter bearing on the architecture of other countries; but it all remains in the form of additions cleaving on to the original structure; it has never been really worked into the older fabric. In fact it could not really be worked in without pulling the whole fabric down and rebuilding it. A book which began as a mere treatise on English architecture cannot become a treatise on architecture in general merely by sticking on sections about France, Germany, and Italy. Mr. Parker has got together a great number of very useful facts about Continental as well as about English architecture, but he fails to grasp the links which tie all the various forms of the art together. No man has a keener power of observation than Mr. Parker, even if his observation is a little too much under the sway of fancy; only, from want of historical and artistic range, he does not know what to do with his facts. He nowhere gives any clear sketch of the history of the various forms of mediæval architecture. The history might possibly be picked up by scraps here and there, but it is nowhere put into anything like systematic order. Thus, for instance, Mr. Parker remarks that in many parts of Germany, in the Royal Burgundy, and in the Pyrenees, buildings are to be found very like the "Anglo-Saxon" buildings of our own island. He also notices the growth of the Norman and some of the other local forms of Romanesque. But he nowhere puts the two things together; he nowhere brings out the very short and very clear history of Romanesque architecture in Western Europe—namely, that up to the eleventh century there was only one style, the direct imitation of Italian models; that in the course of the eleventh century various local styles grew up in Italy, Gaul, and Britain, while Germany claved to the elder style and kept on developing and improving it till it gave way to the Gothic in the thirteenth century. This is really the whole story, and it is a very simple story; but in Mr. Parker's little book, so far as we find it at all, we find it only piecemeal. Indeed, from the title which the book still keeps, a clear and scientific sketch of this kind could hardly be looked for. It is still called, by the title of five-and-twenty years ago, an *Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture*, though it has quite as much to do with Romanesque as with Gothic. We will not dispute as to the origin or propriety of the name Gothic; as a fact, it has, wisely or foolishly, come to mean the style which uses the pointed arch as its main feature of construction, and which accompanies its main feature of construction with an appropriate system of ornamental detail. So of course the Romanesque style is the style which deals in the same way with the round arch, using it as its main feature of construction and accompanying it with appropriate detail. This is the kind of thing which Mr. Parker never brings clearly out, which he hardly seems fully to understand. He warns his readers, with great truth, that the mere form of the arch is not an infallible sign of date; that, when convenience or caprice dictated such a course, the pointed arch was freely used before, and the round arch was freely used after, the time when each was the received form of construction. No one doubts this; here and there, especially in military buildings, round arches of the fourteenth century are not uncommon; but then they have not Romanesque details. And what is far more important, there are whole styles of architecture, some forms of the Mahometan styles as well as the Christian Saracenic of Sicily and the Romanesque of Aquitaine, in which the pointed arch is constantly used with Gothic detail. Mr. Parker is so afraid lest anybody should take the roundheaded fourteenth-century doorways at Malmesbury and Brecon for Norman, that he will hardly allow the form of arch to be of any importance at all; that is, he simply wipes out the whole artistic history of architecture. The title of the book, the extension of the name "Gothic" to all mediæval architecture, is the index of this confusion.

On the English part of the book we will not dwell. The early sections simply put forth over again the dreams which we have so often exposed, the baseless theories which have been upset at least yearly for the last thirty years, the stock passages misapplied or misquoted, which have been corrected almost as often. On all this we will not dwell for a moment, save to point out one singular fact. Nothing in all history is more certain than that the church of Monkwearmouth, built by Benedict Biscop late in the seventh century, was repaired by Ealdwine in the days of the Conqueror. The work of the two dates is there in the tower as plain as anything can be. Benedict built a porch; Ealdwine carried it up into a tower. Benedict's doorway is there, and the line of his porch can be clearly traced. Mr. Parker has a notion that it was all done in 1075, and his woodcut accordingly leaves out Benedict's doorway and the lines of his porch. We do not for a moment think that Mr. Parker had his woodcut made to fit his theory. We are sure that he made his theory by trusting to an inaccurate woodcut instead of looking at the building itself. But one would like to know how and by whom so misleading a representation was palmed off upon Mr. Parker.

When Mr. Parker leaves his theories and gets to facts, he is quite another man. No man is a better guide to the details of English architecture from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Here his careful observation stands him in good stead, and his lack of historical grasp is not of much consequence. He still thinks (see his note in p. 11) that Bæda's statements about Scottish buildings in the seventh century prove something about English buildings in the tenth; he is not likely to fall into the kindred error of going to a writer of the days of Henry the Second to prove something about the architecture of Henry the Seventh. All Mr. Parker's account of the various forms of Gothic in England is, within its own rather narrow range, sound enough. It is more important to track him on the Continent. In his French chapter Mr. Parker well and clearly points out the differences in detail between French and English Gothic; but he is constantly hampered by his lack of grasp of historical geography. When he tells us that England and Normandy were once provinces of one kingdom, it is perhaps only a blundering way of saying that the kingdom and the duchy once had a common sovereign. But he has listened too much to Frenchmen who look on France with its modern boundaries as something eternal; so we get such odd statements as that in the eleventh century there were certain main roads of commerce "through France," "one ascending the Rhone from Marseilles by Avignon, Vienne, and Lyons, and branching off in various directions, as to Grenoble and Geneva eastwards, to Le Puy and Auvergne westwards." What has this to do with France? Every place named, save Le Puy, is a city of the Empire, and even a man at Le Puy would have thought it queer to be called a Frenchman. Still all this is most likely only the confused way of speaking which is natural to one who has not set himself free from bondage to the modern map. It is harder to guess according to what geography it is that, in p. 226, Nevers and Vézelay are placed in Normandy. Still, on the whole, this French section is a very useful one, and Mr. Parker deserves much credit for withstanding the pretensions of some of the French antiquaries, who are eager to make out that, in this matter and in all others, Paris was always in advance of the rest of the world. A good deal too may be picked up from Mr. Parker's remarks on Italian buildings, though there is much that needs correction. It seems odd to light here, as a kind of Appendix to English Gothic Architecture, on Mr. Parker's peculiar theories about the walls of Rome in the time of the Kings. But this is a point on which Mr. Parker must be humoured. At Florence we have to thank him for some healthy comments on the sham Gothic of Italy, and on the wonderful taste by which it is supposed to be a great feat to make a building look much smaller than it is. And it needs some daring, though it is an utterance of simple truth, to stand by the Duomo and Campanile of Florence and say, "So much black and white panelling gives to English people too much the effect of *Tunbridge ware*, and gives the notion of a fine toy rather than the solemnity of a cathedral church." At Ravenna, contrary to his usual fashion of making out every building as late as he can, Mr. Parker refers the round towers to the sixth century; whereas it is plain from Agnellus that none of them could have been built when he wrote in the middle of the ninth. The account of Pisa and Lucca and the Lombard and Pisan styles is a good deal confused. There undoubtedly is a Lombard style, and also a Pisan style; that is to say, such buildings as St. Ambrose at Milan and St. Michael at Pavia are wholly different from anything at Pisa or Lucca. We do not understand what Mr. Parker means when he says that Lucca "belonged to the republic of Pisa at the time that most of the churches were built or rebuilt." There were indeed constant wars between Pisa and Lucca in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in which the Pisans always claimed the victory; but there was no subjection of Lucca to Pisa till after the latest date—1308—which Mr. Parker gives to anything at Lucca. We cannot at all understand Mr. Parker's notions about either the Pisan or the Lucchese churches. The Duomo of Pisa was undoubtedly begun in 1063 or 1067, and consecrated—so much of it as was built—in 1119. It is clear also that at Pisa, as at other places, there were breaks in carrying on so great a work, and as west fronts were very often left unfinished for some time, it is quite possible that at Pisa the front was not finished till early in the thirteenth century, as was undoubtedly the case in the Duomo at Lucca, which was begun about the same time. But this, which is true of a vast proportion of the churches of Europe, is something very different from the general heightening and lengthening of a former church which Mr. Parker fancies. There is no change of style whatever, except where the cupola was patched up in the Medicean times. We should be well pleased to say a little more as to Mr. Parker's views on the Lucchese churches, but it could not be done without entering into over-minute details. Still, with all this, as notes on Italian buildings, this part of Mr. Parker's book has a real value. But Germany, with all its vast stores of so many dates and style, is slurred over in two or three pages. Mr. Parker however does see the connexion between the primitive Romanesque of England and of Germany, though he strangely adds, "This style of tower spreads over the whole of the north of Germany, and into the German part of Switzerland, where we also find at Romain-montier a church, with other parts beside the tower of Anglo-Saxon character." That is to say, Romain-montier, which is not in the German part of Switzerland, but in the old kingdom of Burgundy and the present Canton of Vaud, is the one large church of the primitive style which still remains.

In short, we could not wish for a better guide than Mr. Parker,

wherever his long experience of English and French architecture is enough; but his book, like so many others, shows that it is impossible to deal with the history of architecture or of anything else without a firm grasp of the political history and historical geography of the times which have to be dealt with.

ON THE ROAD TO KHIVA.*

MR. KER, as our readers may remember, was Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* during the Khivan expedition, and made an unfortunate slip in one of his letters which caused much scandal at the time. A certain "old savage," who sat for a graphic portrait to Mr. Ker on the Volga, turned out to have presented himself in the same attitude in the Crimea, and to have suggested a train of reflection so similar as to be partly expressible in the very same words. Mr. Ker says, rather strongly, that the discovery of this coincidence made him appear to his countrymen as "a liar and impostor"; and in the preface to this volume he gives some explanation of the true state of the case. It does not really want much explanation. Nobody will doubt that Mr. Ker actually went to Samarcand, as he tells us, or will suppose that his correspondence was composed in London instead of at the place assigned for it. The error into which he fell is perfectly intelligible, and, as he admits it to be "perfectly inexcusable," we need not discuss the degree of blame to be attached to it. He was, as he says, travelling under circumstances which made writing very difficult; he was obliged to be constantly writing, whilst he had to conceal the fact that he was a Correspondent; and, as he was also suffering from ill-health, he "was glad to lessen the strain by using familiar words, even while conscious that he must have used them before." The "old savage," in fact, was merely one of those commonplace which come in very conveniently for a Correspondent bound to make bricks without straw; and he saw the original of his portrait reproduced not merely once, but "at least a dozen times." The only thing which strikes us as remarkable under the circumstances is the retentiveness of a memory which enabled him to reproduce his own language with so much accuracy.

Meanwhile, though we do not think it necessary or desirable to administer any further reproof to Mr. Ker for an error of which enough has been said, and from which rather overstrained inferences were drawn at the time, the fact is rather significant from a purely literary point of view. It lets us into some secrets of the Correspondent's trade; which are further illustrated by the style of the whole work. The book might have been written in illustration of the maxim—a very true one in a certain sense—that what a traveller finds depends chiefly upon what he brings. A Correspondent who confined himself to a faithful and unadorned account of the actual objects before him would often be unable to fill his space, or would have to fill it with uninteresting matter. A discerning public must be provided with a certain number of columns, whether anything has happened or not, and the natural consequence is that the art of making nothing go a long way, and at the same time investing it with a certain air of smartness, has been brought to a high pitch of perfection. Mr. Ker's book illustrates several of the most obvious expedients which may be used for this purpose. He is a clever and fluent writer, who can dash off with sufficient vigour a description of the "graphic" variety. But then he had really very little to describe beyond a series of extremely uncomfortable journeys over bad roads, in detestable carts, and in a trying climate. He travelled from Orenburg pretty easily to Kazalinsk, on the Syr Daria, not far from the Sea of Aral. There he was detained by the Governor for seven weeks; at last he received permission to proceed, and ascended the valley of the Syr Daria to Tashkent, from which place he afterwards went to Samarcand. Here the narrative rather abruptly finishes, Mr. Ker remarking briefly that the narrative of his homeward journey would be "only a monotonous beadroll of hardships, aggravated by illness and loss of blood." The outward journey, however, would not be very much more were it not for the art of the Correspondent. Mr. Ker doubtless did his best, but he unluckily missed everything that was most worth seeing. He met the troops on their return, instead of accompanying them on their way out. His detention at Kazalinsk was little better than a mild imprisonment; and a man shut up in a dreary village in a remote corner of the world for many weeks of irritating suspense becomes more bored than interested, and has no great opportunities for observation. How then was Mr. Ker to fill his book?

One method, which is more or less applicable under any circumstances, is to favour the public with a certain amount of personal history. Mr. Ker throws out incidental remarks which would be very useful to a biographer. We learn, amongst other things, that he is a man of considerable pedestrian powers. He has not only been up Mont Blanc, now rather a humble feat, and distinguished himself at the "Crick run" at Rugby, but he informs us that he made the circuit of Jerusalem without the walls in fifty-four minutes during the month of June, and that he marched twenty miles uphill in South America within four hours. We may remark parenthetically that we should be glad of a little more information as to this last feat. Twenty miles in four hours is very fair walking even along a level road in England for a man not engaged in a match; but the same rate "uphill" approaches to

the marvellous if we are to understand anything really steep. Very few men, we will venture to say, can go uphill, as that word is used, for example, in Switzerland, at more than half the rate indicated for any length of time; but we admit that there are hills and hills. These athletic performances are introduced by way of accounting for a feat which Mr. Ker performed for the astonishment of the Governor of Kazalinsk. He walked sixteen miles or thereabouts under a burning sun, supported by "the bull-dog instinct of the Anglo-Saxon," and seems to have deserved, though he luckily escaped, a sunstroke for his pains. What, he asks, would such a performance have been in heavy marching order? We presume that Russian soldiers do not under those circumstances indulge in Mr. Ker's "regulation pace" of five miles an hour; but somehow or other they do without the "Anglo-Saxon" instinct. We could wish that the said instinct did not lead to fine writing as decidedly as to fast walking.

These personal details, however interesting in themselves, do not tell us much about the country. Mr. Ker's next expedient is more to the purpose. He indulges, whenever he has a chance, in picturesque description. There are various common forms ready for use on such occasions which considerably facilitate the task. Wherever, for example, you happen to see together two or three men of different nationalities, it is easy to remark that they form a striking group. Put together a sturdy Russian, a tall, stately Bokhariote, a "bunfaced" Kalmuk, and a wiry Cossack, and the thing is done. A good many such groups are naturally encountered in various parts of Asia, and a slight variation in the phrases and in the order will make one bit of graphic writing serve for all. The unfortunate "old savage" of the Crimea was merely one variation upon this popular expedient. Whenever Mr. Ker is at a loss he can introduce a "bunfaced" native just as easily as the artist of an illustrated newspaper uses one or two well-known lay figures for the foreground of each of his pictures. The only question which suggests itself is that unfortunate one, how far Mr. Ker is drawing from life and how far he is indulging in the license permitted to travellers. Another formula often employed on such occasions suggests a similar scepticism. We should like to know, as a matter of statistics, how many Eastern travellers have been reminded of the *Arabian Nights*, and have assured their readers, as Mr. Ker assures us, that in one corner of a bazaar they saw a disguised captain of the Forty Thieves, and in another Sinbad the Sailor, and in a third the Prince of the Winged Horse. We can remember at this moment two or three instances of the use of this convenient illustration by authors of reputation; and doubtless there was a time when it was new and fresh. Just now, like the New Zealander and the German describing the camel, it has become rather stale; and we could wish, were it not for its extreme utility to unlucky Correspondents, that it might be banished altogether from literature. However, we may assume that Mr. Ker was in some sense reminded of the *Arabian Nights*, and at any rate it struck him when he was looking at the bazaar that there was a favourable opportunity for working in an old scrap once more. In other places he is apparently diverging a little further from the plain prosaic facts. He gives, for example, a number of highly dramatic reports of conversations, which, as he could not take them down in shorthand, must obviously be more or less a work of imagination. In Tashkent he met Mr. Ashton Dilke, who accompanied him in his visit to Samarcand. The two gentlemen converse with a brilliant display of American anecdote and English slang which is calculated to excite the envy of common travellers. Two Englishmen alone in a foreign land are apt rather to bore each other than to sparkle with such incessant wit. However we must not complain if Mr. Ker has picked out the plums of the conversation, and thereby made it rather more entertaining than a full report could have been; nor will we even suggest that we could sometimes wish that the space filled by a repartee of Mr. Dilke's had been occupied by some fuller details of the curiosities visited. For Mr. Ker wants to be very vivacious, and we need not be hypercritical as to the means employed. But this habit of repeating conversations suggests another mode of filling one's pages. If he did not see much himself, Mr. Ker saw a great many people who had seen something. Nothing could be more natural and proper than that he should repeat some of the scenes described to him. Unluckily he becomes so lively in his descriptions of what he avows himself not to have seen, that we begin to be in doubt as to how far he is merely reporting and how far he is filling up details from his imagination. Thus, for example, the prisoners released from Khiva had reached Kazalinsk two or three months before Mr. Ker's arrival. This was unlucky; but as the scene of their arrival was described to him by one or two of the inhabitants, he thinks that he had better give the story in his own words. Accordingly the story is given with a number of petty details, inserted with the laudable purpose of making it lively, but which are obviously mere fancy work. A conversation is given between three Russian traders sitting over their tea-urn. A sudden trampling of horse is heard, and the Cossacks ride in, and are duly described. Afterwards a cluster of specks appear on the plain, which resolves itself into a party of men on horseback, led by a handsome man on a magnificent Arab, with silver-laced trappings; at sight of whom a scarred and grey-haired Cossack exclaims, "I know that foremost fellow," and goes on to give anecdotes about him. Then the crowd increases; we have the gaunt Turkoman, the bullet-headed Tartar, the "bunfaced Kalmuck" over again, and so on; and we are told all that they do or say,

* *On the Road to Khiva.* By David Ker. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

and how one man asks for his only brother and finds that he is not amongst the prisoners. In the same way Mr. Ker describes the heroic defence of the citadel of Samarcand by the Russians in 1868. He could not be more graphic if he had been on the spot and seen "the set grim look of the Northmen when fairly brought to bay," and all the rest of it. Doubtless the main facts are truly reported, but Mr. Ker is apparently incapable of simply telling what was told to him without covering it with this kind of varnish, which effectually conceals from his readers the facts which he is merely reporting from those which he is imagining. The story would really be far more impressive if he did not treat us like children and try to spice his narrative by bits of rhetoric and a free use of the "historical present." But undoubtedly it would be less in the sacred style of the newspaper Correspondent.

Thus, though the book is smartly written enough, and may amuse a spare half-hour, we are left in an uncomfortable state of uncertainty as to its real value. Mr. Ker no doubt wishes to tell us what he has seen and done; but he is in such fear of being dull that he cannot be content without twisting and torturing every page into writing which reminds us inevitably of the picturesque novel. He describes things which he tells us frankly that he has not seen, as minutely as those which he has seen. He mixes up with genuine description fragments of half-remembered fine writing which seem to be more or less appropriate; and at best the whole result resembles a coloured photograph. It is neither pure art nor pure nature. The main facts are correct, or at least stated with a sincere desire to be correct; but they are so inextricably mixed up with Correspondent's commonplaces, so coloured and touched up with irrelevant eloquence, that we feel no confidence in the colouring. It may be true to nature, or it may merely represent the preconceived notions which Mr. Ker carried with him. As he is intending another journey, we may simply advise him to sacrifice smartness to accuracy on a future occasion; and even to dare to bore us a little rather than to throw in touches which cannot have been derived from actual observation.

CLEASBY'S ICELANDIC DICTIONARY.*

SOME four years ago we noticed the first part of this *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, which now lies before us completed by Mr. Vigfússon, and accompanied by an introduction and a sketch of the life of the late Richard Cleasby, written by Dr. Dasent. "The history of the book, for books have histories just as much as men" (the italics are ours), "has already been partly told in the preface," says Dr. Dasent. And it is, briefly stated, as follows. Richard Cleasby, a City man of opulent means and great literary tastes and aptitude for learning, conceived in the year 1840 the idea of turning his means and powers to account by compiling an *Icelandic-English Dictionary*. But, most unfortunately for learning and science, his career was cut short by death in 1846. His heirs, however, anxious to carry to its legitimate end the incomplete work of their eminent kinsman, went on advancing sums for the purpose for some eight years more. But when, in 1854, a fresh demand came from Copenhagen for more money, and the heirs found the progress of the work incommensurate with the sums expended on it, the eventual fulfilment of the work being still problematical, it was resolved to have the MSS. brought to England. In 1855 Dr. Dasent proposed to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press to publish the Dictionary, and undertook to see it through the press. At the end of eleven more years he came to the conclusion that this was not a work to be done by him, and at the expense of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press engaged Mr. Vigfússon, a native of Iceland, to complete the undertaking. After seven years of incessant work, Mr. Vigfússon has now brought to an end a most praiseworthy task, and enriched philological science by a work which reflects credit alike on his scholarship, his industry, and his perseverance. Dr. Dasent has read the proofs of the first two sheets conjointly with Mr. Vigfússon, but otherwise he has no part in the work beyond what we have stated. *Apropos*, however, of his connexion with the Dictionary Dr. Dasent says:—

The writer who has watched over it, so to speak, from its birth, and who has been, as it were, a second father to it, ever since the untimely death of its natural parent, cannot but feel a glow of exultation as he beholds it issuing from the press in all the maturity and fulness which at one time it seemed hopeless that it could ever assume.

We have nothing to say to all this, except that now, when there was an opportunity for Dr. Dasent to show himself a good father and to give to the child an outfit worthy of the father's fond pride, he has failed to an extent which we could not have imagined. Will it be believed that of the three main questions with which an introduction to the Dictionary might be expected to deal—the development of Icelandic literature considered from a lexicographical point of view, the present state of Icelandic lexicography, and the principles on which the editor has framed and carried out his lexicographical method—not one should be even alluded to in a single word? We are not even told what was the precise character of the transcripts from which Mr. Vigfússon has edited the work. We gather that he had to rewrite the whole, because the quotations which now are given in full in the Dictionary were in the transcripts only indicated by bare references. But, ignoring

entirely the topics which most readers will consider he ought to have treated in his introduction, Dr. Dasent is careful to bring into it one which we should have thought had no place there at all:—

Still more would he [i.e. Mr. Vigfússon] find himself rewarded if his labours should be the means of restoring her old Bible to Iceland. It would be for the good of all, and even for the beginner in Icelandic, if he could find a sure stay to his first footsteps in the grand old Icelandic translation of the Bible of Bishop Gudbrand of the year 1584, which may compare with our own Authorized Version for purity and strength; but this Version has, most unhappily for Iceland, been replaced in recent years by a paraphrastic translation which it should be the aim of all true friends of piety and learning to discourage and disclaim.

As we understand this not very clear passage, it appears that Mr. Vigfússon would find himself best rewarded if his labours on this Dictionary should be the means of restoring the 1584 Bible translation to Iceland. We do not quite see how a dictionary can do this more effectually than the Bible translation itself, which always will tell its own tale best. We can understand, however, that an editor of a dictionary might quote abundantly from a rare book of such excellence as is here ascribed to Gudbrand's Bible, for the purpose of anyhow giving the general reader throughout the world the benefit of these excellences, which, by reason of the scarcity of the book, he would otherwise have to forego. But what is the case here? That the editor has ignored the words peculiar to this Bible translation to the extent, not of dozens or scores, but of hundreds. We cannot fully substantiate this assertion within our present limits, but we may give a partial illustration of our statement by subjoining a list (not exhaustive) of words found in the Gospel of St. Matthew alone, but not occurring in the Dictionary:—1. *kveisusjúkur* (παλαυτικός, otherwise translated in a variety of ways); 2. *hernabarsveinar*; 3. *fornefna*; 4. *hórúnarslekte*; 5. *sæðari*; 6. *ofurtroða*; 7. *uppsætningr*; 8. *leiðtogari*; 9. *tierligr*; 10. *flakakorn*; 11. *klýfbæriligr* (!); 12. *flatskapr* (frequent elsewhere); 13. *harðkvali*; 14. *forstýttir*; 15. *drýkkjuráttari*; 16. *formáttir*; 17. *læg*; 18. *prautkesti*; 19. *forheyrva*; 20. *undirvísun*; 21. *formega* (verb); 22. *forlita*; 23. *peysidogg*; 24. *svefnkofi*; 25. *títreiða*. Words used in this Gospel in meanings peculiar to this Bible translation, but not taken notice of in Cleasby, are still more numerous; we can only mention a few:—*skammfylla* (σκανδαλίζω), to offend; *reisa*, to travel; *spilling*, waste; *skikka*, to give, to send; and, finally, the form *bleif* (xxi. 17; otherwise of frequent occurrence), which Mr. Vigfússon, from its very monstrosity, no doubt, positively asserts is never used; see dict. s. *blifa*. We need not conjecture why these deformities, as most of them are, with hundreds of the like, have been banished from Cleasby by Mr. Vigfússon; we think he shows his good sense by having done so. But then we are rather at a loss to understand on what ground he can hold up such a translation as a pattern of perfection, purity, and grandeur. We venture to add that this very Bible translation is, on the whole, the worst that Iceland possesses. Extravagantly paraphrastic, it is the most corrupt in point of grammar, choice of words, and style, and exceeds all the rest in instances of renderings not only demonstrably wrong, but often flagrantly at variance with common sense, by an overwhelming majority. In illustration of the last-mentioned peculiarity, let these few examples be adduced:—Matt. vi. 16: "Nær þér fastit, þá skulu þér eigi vera kámleitr (i.e. kámleitr, see Cleasby-Vigfússon, *sub voce*) so sem Hrafnarar, þuist þér syrtina sína Ásionu, so að synest fyrir mönnum að þér faste" (When ye fast, then shall ye not be grimy of face like hypocrites, for they blacken their countenance in order that it may seem to people as if they fasted); xiii. 20. "Enn sa sem i grytta Jörd er sádr er sa huer ordit heyrer" (but he who into stony earth is sown is he who the word heareth); 22. "Enn hann sem a millum þyrna er sádr" (but he who among thorns is sown); 23. "Enn sa i goda Jörd er sádr" (but he who into good earth is sown! No scholar would think of editing this one Gospel without emending it in at least three hundred and fifty places, and even then he would be dealing leniently with it; and yet the Gospels may be said to be well executed in comparison with the Epistles. Such is the real character of a work for which Dr. Dasent professes boundless admiration, and which he actually compares with our Authorized Version for purity and strength. Possibly it might be found on inquiry that there was room for two opinions as to the real value of that other "translation which it should be the aim of all true friends of piety and learning to discourage and disclaim."

We gladly leave this matter to speak of the Dictionary itself. We have here a copious Dictionary—not full or exhaustive by any means, but at all events the most copious extant—particularly well stocked with quotations and references, and generally a pretty safe guide to the meanings of the words, especially in its latter part. To each word we have a constant accompaniment of comparative etymologies, Gothic, Old-English, Teutonic, and Scandinavian, varying in fulness according as the editor has been able to verify the extraneous parallels. This work exceeds all existing Icelandic Dictionaries in the number of phrases, words, proverbs, &c., referring to peculiarly Icelandic subjects; and the explanation of them may be relied on all the more confidently since the editor is a native of the country, and therefore familiar with these matters, either from study at first hand or from actual experience. In many instances Mr. Vigfússon throws out conjectural hints on disputed readings and passages, which generally have the merit of being ingenious. In his etymologies, too, he is sometimes as happy as at other times he is unfortunate. Among valuable etymological hints we especially call attention to *lýtr*, although we still have a doubt whether *lý*

* An *Icelandic-English Dictionary*. Based on the MS. Collections of the late Richard Cleasby, enlarged and completed by Gudbrand Vigfússon, M.A., with an Introduction and Life of Richard Cleasby by George Webbe Dasent, D.C.L. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1874.

stands for *lög*, chiefly on account of the utter absence of all analogy to bear out such a vowel-transition. In our former notice we expressed the opinion that *orð* in *bana-orð* must be connected with the Old-English *ord*, origin, cause, Icel. *urðr*, but had nothing to do with *orð* = word in its modern sense, *verbum*. This Mr. Vigfússon now concedes, though somewhat tardily, saying, "May there not be some etymological connexion between word and weird, Icel. *orð* and *urð*? The notion of weird, doom, prevails in compounds as *bana-orð* (*sic*) *drauða-orð* death-weird, fate." While on this subject we must call attention to an unfortunate erratum which has crept into the article on *Skuld*, where under II. this word is said to be "the name of one of the three works" instead of weirds, *Skuld* being one of the three fates of Northern mythology.

In the case of *ostr*, cheese, and *jastr*, yeast, Mr. Vigfússon cannot possibly be right in his comparative etymologies. *Ostr* he makes "probab." identical with *jastr*, and then derives both from English *yeast*, and *jastr* further from the "Middle High Germ. *jest* and *gest*, Germ. *gischt*, Norw. *jest* and *jestr*." To these etymologies may be added Old-Engl. *gist*, Germ. *gäsch*, *gischen*, and *gäschen*, the Middle High Germ. verb, *gise*, *jas-jären*, *gejese*, the Swed. *jäsa*, *gäsa* (verb), and *jäst*, Dan. *gære*, *gær*, Icel. *geisa*. These etymologies unanimously declare the meaning of *jastr* to be *gush*, *froth*, *fermentation*, the verbs to *gush*, *froth*, *ferment*. And no doubt they all of them bear witness to the physical law which finds its embodiment and illustration in the fermentation of yeast. But can that also apply to *ostr*, cheese? Is cheese ever known to have been produced by any process the working of which partook in any manner of the nature of fermentation? We cannot help connecting *ostr* with Old-Engl. *beost*, *byst*, *bysting*, which also occurs in the important form *gisting*, without the *b* which thereby is proved not to be radical, but a prefix, Old High Germ. *biost*, Germ. *biest* (biest-milch), Engl. *biestings*. The meanings of all these words settle their etymological kindred with *ostr*. As we said before, the absence of *b* in *gisting* shows that *b* is not a radical letter, and, that being granted, the process is exactly the natural one by which Old-Engl. *be-ost* and Old High Germ. *bi-ost* come to be *ost-r* in Icelandic, which sternly refuses all *be-* prefixes uniformly, no matter whether the case is one of verbs or nouns. In fact the relation between these forms and *ostr* is very similar to the relation between that Lancashire verb *os* or *oss*, about which we heard a good deal some time ago, and the Old-Engl. *b-yss-gu*, business, Icel. *ysa*. We had in our previous article traced *beiskr* to *bita*, to bite, and this derivation Mr. Vigfússon, under the letter Z, refuses to accept on the ground that *beiskr* is connected with *biestings*, and consequently with the whole tribe to which that word belongs, which he again connects with Goth. *beist* = Greek *ζώνη*, a leaven. By such etymologies many uncomfortable riddles in comparative philology become easy of solution. In the case of *beost* and all that tribe the primitive vowel they point to is *u*; we are not aware of any satisfactory analogies of Goth. *ei* running over into either *eo*, *io*, or *ie* in Old-English or in German dialects; and Dieffenbach calls attention to that difficulty in this very case, though he follows others (not Grimm however) in grouping *beist* with *beost*, &c.; but he does it on their authority, not his own. But we have here to observe that not only does Grimm connect *beist* with the fundamental notion of *biting*, but he says expressly that *beiskr* is to be derived from Goth. *beitan*, to bite (*Gramm.* ii. 278). The absence of *z* in the MSS. in such cases avails nothing against sound etymological principles, especially when, as in Icelandic, that letter has always been undistinguished from the *s* in sound, and interchanges with it most irregularly. To set up such preposterous etymologies as *geiskafullr* not derivable from *geit*: at *lesti* not derivable from *latr*, for the purpose of knocking them down on the very ground of their absurdity, and then to leave it as a matter of inference that these are cases parallel to our etymology of *beiskr*, has scarcely even the merit of ingenuity. As Mr. Vigfússon himself shows, *ses* from *seta*, *setja*, and *vissi* from *vita* are never spelt with a *z* in the MSS., and consequently prove that the MSS. sometimes do not write *z* where it should be written according to the laws of etymology. As to the Icelandic *beizli* being derived from *bita*, and having nothing to do with *brülle*, which means a different thing and comes from a different root—viz., from the Old-Engl. *breden*, Icel. *bregða*, to twist, referring to the workmanship of the *reins*—on this point there can be no doubt, and the editor's opposition to this derivation seems to us particularly weak; the chief point of it being that *beizli* is written in the MSS. with *s*, while it is also written with *z* perhaps as frequently.

With regard to the very important word *mál* in *mála-spjót*, *mála-járn*, *mála-sax*, *mála-steinn*, we are of opinion that Mr. Vigfússon's derivation from Goth. *mél* = *μαῖα* and *μαῖμα*, Hel. *mál* imago, and the thence secured meaning of "drawing, inlaid ornaments" on spearheads, cannot possibly be the right one. First let us say that *mála-sax* is another reading in a different recension of the same story for *mála-járn*. Whichever of the two readings we adopt, it is evident that both words signify one and the same object, and we adopt as the better reading *mála-járn*, it being of a much more frequent occurrence than the very questionable *mála-sax*. In order now to approach the real meaning of *mál* in these words we must take into consideration the context where they occur. The *locus classicus* is here the passage in the Saga of Gísli Súrsson, where

the ceremony of taking the oath of sworn brotherhood is described:—

They now go down to "the Ere" and cut there out of the earth a strip of the sword in such manner that both ends were still fast in the earth, and they "propped it up with" a *mála-spjót*, one, of which the socket-nail might be reached by stretching the hand up to it. Thereunder they were to go the four of them together; now they draw blood each from his own body, and let it run together into the mould which was cut up from under the sword-stripe, and stir both together the blood and the mould; whereupon they all fall a-knee and swear the oath that each shall wreak revenge for the other, even as if he were his own brother, whereunto they call witnesses all the gods.

From this context one of two things is evident; the sword-strip was propped up by the *mála-spjót* either head upmost or shaft-end upmost, the former alternative being more in the spirit of the text. But then we must ask, if *mál* means here only ornament, or runes, how is it possible, supposing the former alternative to be accepted, that such a thin prop as a pointed piece of iron could support a heavy strip of sword, stretched at a great strain, of course, to a height considerably above the head of a grown person? or, supposing the latter alternative to be adopted, how can this possibly be effected by a spear-shaft only slightly thicker than the spear-head, for spear-shafts always tapered towards the end? In either case the spear must have run through the sword-strip as a needle through a sheet of paper, and left it to fall unsupported on the ground. Foreseeing that the thinking reader would query his statement from these alternate points of view, the historian takes care to obviate all doubt by saying that the strip was propped up by a *mála-spjót*. The *mál*, therefore, gives to the spear the quality required for the purpose; and on the interpretation of *mál* here it depends whether this passage turns out to be a remarkable and trustworthy description of an extremely important and interesting heathen rite, or it falls to the ground as utter nonsense. On the interpretation of *mál* here also depends its signification in all the compounds adduced above.

Now, the *mál* being the peculiarity about the spear which made it do service as a prop under the sword-strip, we see no other way open but to take *mál* as signifying a cross-bar sticking out from the spearhead on two opposite sides, and to translate *mála-spjót* a cross-spear. By interpreting it thus the passage reads quite intelligibly, and leaves no doubt open as to its genuineness. This interpretation, too, makes another passage in the same Saga perfectly intelligible, which under the old interpretation is preposterously improbable. Thorgrim Nose, to wit, is made to forge in one day a *mála-spjót* out of the fragments of the famous "Grey-steel." If it was a spear with inlaid ornaments, it is evident that the work could not be done in one day. If it was a spear with runes scored on it, as Dr. Dasent in his translation takes it, the author of the story of Gísli knew not, in this particular instance, how to write Icelandic grammar. He says, namely, *mál voru í*, i.e. *mál* were in (it, in the spearhead); a construction which cannot be used in the Icelandic language, and never has been used in it, to signify scoring, carving, or any kind of ornamentation on the surface of anything; instead of *mál voru í*, the construction must be *mál voru á* if *mál* is taken to mean either ornament or scored runes; but for a cross-bar wrought with and in the spear the phrase is perfectly correct. The word *mála-steinn*, which Mr. Vigfússon identifies correctly with *lyfsteinn*, a healing stone—about which he, equally correctly, remarks, "Such stones are recorded as attached to the hilts of ancient swords"—stands here as a further support of our interpretation, the hilt of the sword being a cross-bar of iron. A *mála-steinn* is even recorded as enclosed within the upper hilt of a sword, which bears out the same argument still. In Sagas where Christian superstitions prevail, as in the case of Orm Stórolfsson, a man who had already received the sign of the cross, the form *mála-járn* is commonest, and occurs chiefly as a charm against evil spirits. Thus Orm lays a *mála-járn* in the mouth of the cave of the giant Brusi in order to prevent him getting out. In Bergþúá þátr one recension makes a benighted traveller put in the opening of a cave haunted by evil-wights for his defence a *mála-járn*, while another makes the same man make the sign of the cross with his sword. In other words, the latter recension translates *mál* as cross. These examples may suffice for our inference, which is, as already stated, that *mál* in these compounds signifies a cross-bar; it happens to mean a cross-bar of iron because the context admits of no other interpretation; but we think it need have nothing to do with iron at all; otherwise the combination *mála-járn*, iron's-iron, would prove it to be a word of foreign origin or an archaism which the Icelander did not understand, but naturalized by a somewhat similar process to that of *viki-vaki* (for *vigil-vaki*, from *vigilia*), prop. wake-wake, whereof the *viki* has nothing to do with *vika*, a week, as Mr. Vigfússon thinks. This interpretation is settled, we think, beyond dispute, by the Old-Engl. *mæl* = *croca*, *Cristes mæl*, Christ's cross; *mæl* and *mál* being thus cognates, if indeed *mál* is not a case of pure foreign adoption, it is evident that the old interpretations and etymologies fall utterly to the ground.

Of the very numerous cases of etymology where we are at variance with the editor, we must leave what we have said to stand as specimens. But we would finally call attention to the very important word *mörk*, where there has crept in a bad slip of the pen, the editor counting eighty, instead of 160 *merk* to a *vett*. There are many such slips to be met with in Cleasby, and very naturally, the book being bulky, and the laborious reading of proofs having been done in an abnormal sort of way. In the word *shot*, *kirkju-shot*, &c., which is a good specimen of archi-

tectural terminology of genuine Northern growth, the true meaning has escaped the editor, it being an aisle, not a wing.

It is certain that the book has gained very much in scholarship by having been revised, as far as the English of it goes, by two such able men as Dr. Liddle and Mr. Kitchin. We hope and wish that this generous literary enterprise of the Clarendon Press may be rewarded by a speedy sale of the first edition of the Dictionary, and that we may look forward to no very far distant future for a thoroughly revised and corrected second edition.

A STILLBORN HISTORY OF WATERLOO.*

THE last literary bequest of the Second Empire deserved more notice than it had the good fortune to obtain. Published but a few weeks before the declaration of war with Prussia, there was no time allowed to those for whom it was designed to peruse it before they were plunged into a struggle as fierce as that of fifty-five years earlier which it described, and of dimensions so much grander as to dwarf the great Napoleon's campaigns by comparison. Some significant circumstances attending its form will be noted presently, as curiously characteristic of the régime under which it was produced. Passing these by for the moment as a matter apart, the execution of the work was very creditable to its avowed author, and indeed marks a distinct step in advance in the historical study of French military history as hitherto understood and practised by the countrymen of Prince Edouard de la Tour d'Auvergne. And if this improvement was forced on them by circumstances, it is not the less noteworthy and desirable. How it came about may be simply enough explained by looking back at the circumstances of the time.

Up to five or six years since the French had been content, in their belief in the First Napoleon's military infallibility, to treat Waterloo from a point of view exclusively national. They knew that he had been the greatest of all generals, and they knew that, notwithstanding this and the devotion of the soldiers of 1815 to his standard, he had suffered one of the most disastrous defeats on record on the plains of Belgium. He had fought certainly against greater numbers; but to give this as the only reason of his failure appeared insufficient, since in his earlier campaigns he had dealt easily with the same odds. He had, however, written elaborately on the subject of Waterloo during his subsequent exile, and as the excuses he offered turned on the personal errors, blindness, and omissions of individual followers, they chimed in happily with the national egotism, and became on the whole, notwithstanding that certain French critics had impugned parts of them in detail, almost a matter of national faith. M. Thiers, in concluding the splendid epic which he is pleased to call a history of *The Consulate and Empire*, applied all the powers of his fascinating style to crystallize this mythical belief into a masterly sketch of the campaign drawn from the Napoleonic point of view; and he succeeded in constructing a story which will remain whilst French is read a monument of its author's literary ability, however little credit it reflects on his honesty of purpose. For some years it satisfied the popular mind entirely, and the eloquent Academician was in one sense the truest supporter of that Second Empire which he vainly struggled against in his other character of Deputy. Of course sensible Frenchmen were aware that their national version of the last campaign of Napoleon was not that of Prussians or Englishmen; but they were for the most part content, in M. Thiers's favourite phrase, to assign "interested motives" to all those who differed with him, and to take the gilded structure he had based on the St. Helena narrative, if not for a perfect history, at any rate for the nearest approach to it that could anywhere be found. Besides, was it not notorious that the German writers were entirely at issue with those of Great Britain as to some of the leading points of the campaign? What more probable than that the Frenchman who disregarded both was in the right track?

The first blow to this comfortable state of things came from two of the many exiles who assailed the Second Empire with their literary shafts from outside its dominions. Colonel Charras, and, following him, M. Edgar Quinet, undertook to expose the falsehoods on which the St. Helena story was built up. The one was laborious and full of knowledge, the other clear and incisive in the use of his pen. Colonel Charras spared no pains to get at the truth and set it forth completely. M. Quinet found the materials ready prepared by his predecessor's research, and was himself gifted with the brilliancy of expression which commands the attention of French readers more than the most faithful devotion to truth. Under the shocks dealt to it by these critics, the "Napoleonic legend" (as Quinet happily called it), which had covered the events of 1815 with a false growth of romance, began to wither and shrink. Carefully excluded as their works were from the Paris bookstalls, they made their way into French libraries. And although their attacks on the First Empire were obviously prompted in the first place by the authors' animosity to the Second, they were not to be altogether explained away by this, except in the eyes of those who were thoroughly loyal to the existing order of things and unwilling to have their faith in Napoleonism disturbed.

Following on Charras and Quinet, and using their works avowedly as chief materials for his own, came another writer

whose book found its way more largely into France. Colonel Chesney succeeded in reconciling the German and English histories so far at least that his book was much read in his own country, and became adopted as the official text-book for professional study in Prussia. Its large acceptance in a German form naturally caused its republication in French; and, as an English work translated in Belgium could hardly be officially excluded by the censorship at Paris, it soon found its way to that capital, and was read by many who only knew of the writings of their countrymen Charras and Quinet through its means. No reader of ordinary intelligence who studied either of the three could believe any longer in the fable of Napoleonic infallibility, even when dressed up in the tasteful periods of a Thiers. The necessity seems to have been recognized of abandoning the attempt to impose on the world through the latter, and of beginning afresh the defence of Napoleon with less doubtful materials than his own Memoirs. The work before us embodies the result; and, though adopting outwardly an independent line of view, the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne was manifestly holding a brief for the Second Empire when he undertook to write the fall of the First.

In his preface he refers pointedly to the Histories just spoken of. Charras and Quinet are mentioned as having, in their criticisms on the St. Helena narrative, fallen, in an opposite direction, into the very exaggeration which they condemn in Thiers, who defends it. Chesney is credited with honesty of purpose in breaking with those long-standing English traditions which are not unfairly described as "more patriotic than just"; and the author only regrets that he so closely reproduces the judgments given before him by Charras. But the remarkable point of the Prince's introduction lies in the utter abandonment of Thiers and his supposed authority. "He has not succeeded" (it is briefly said) "in gaining acceptance for his conclusions. His twentieth volume, though so enthralling, so patriotic, is considered to be a pure romance, in which there is nothing real but the sublime heroism he has depicted in the most brilliant of styles." It is something indeed to have reached this standard in a matter in which the French were, up to within a very few years, under such extraordinary self-deception. The whole plan of the work follows this key, and treats the campaign in as favourable a light as possible for Napoleon, but pointedly omits to make any use of his own inventions after his fall, as though they were historic proofs of the cause of his failure.

The course followed in the narrative is nearly that pursued by Charras, and among ourselves by Colonel Chesney, of dividing the days of the campaign carefully, and tracing out the events of each in detail from the various evidence before proceeding to comment on them. The spirit in which this is done may be briefly shown from one or two well-known points, as the supposed neglect of Ney to seize Quatre Bras in time, and assist with one of his corps the Emperor's action at Ligny; or again that of Grouchy to move to his master's aid on the crowning day of Waterloo. As to the former, Ney's conduct and that of his lieutenant, D'Erlon, are examined carefully in the light of the well-known documents already ransacked by other authors. One document, however, is omitted, and that is the fatal narrative known as Gougnaud's, which was dictated by Napoleon just after the events, and before the fallen Emperor had had time to invent the more elaborate version of the Memoirs; and which proves at a glance that he knew nothing whatever of the movement towards Ligny of the corps of D'Erlon, which Thiers blames Ney violently for calling back to its proper point at Quatre Bras. Ney is mildly charged by the Prince, as by some French writers, with having neglected the opportunity of crushing the Dutch-Belgians at Quatre Bras in the forenoon, a charge which is confuted by the proofs abundantly given that he was simply awaiting the Emperor's orders to move at all. This, however, is plainly stated not to be the cause of the incompleteness of the Ligny victory. The real blame of the miscarriage is laid entirely on D'Erlon for obeying Ney's order of recall. And this upon the strange ground that "his resolve to go back on Quatre Bras was the greatest misfortune to us. Let no one say it was covered by Ney's order. Such an order cannot cover a general at the head of a corps [our Imperialist author says a *général-en-chef*, an evident misuse here of a technical title] who has been entrusted with 20,000 men and 50 guns, and whose right and duty it is to think." This is an ingenious new view certainly of an old problem; but as D'Erlon's corps happened to form nearly the half of an army entrusted to Ney for certain objects, and as he was not a general-in-chief, while Ney was, we may be pardoned for refusing to entertain any such liberal construction of a corps commander's duties. Once admit it, and no commander-in-chief in any future battle could possibly count on bringing his army into position. Thought is no doubt valuable; but no sound reflection could ever teach a subordinate general to act in direct contradiction to his own superior's pressing order without any higher authority than his own unaided judgment.

As to Grouchy, and the famous discussion on his conduct on the 18th, here our author is on much more difficult ground, since there is no possibility of finding some new culprit to whom to transfer the blame hitherto laid by the French nation on the unfortunate Marshal. And it has long since been shown from Napoleon's own despatches that he fully approved of that very movement on Wavre by his lieutenant which kept the latter far beyond any range of tactical usefulness for the day. The solution which the Imperialist writer offers lays the blame, as of old, entirely on Grouchy, but does so on altogether new grounds. Omitting all notice of the apocryphal orders of the Emperor to the Marshal,

* *Waterloo, Étude de la Campagne de 1815.* Par le lieutenant-colonel Prince Edouard de la Tour d'Auvergne. Paris: Plon.

mentioned in the Memoirs, the authenticity of which had been effectually exploded long before Thiers deliberately quoted them in his recent editions, Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne uses only the genuine correspondence. He is of course compelled therefore to admit that Grouchy's movement was apparently approved of by the Emperor up to the last. But the latter's despatch, he says, was but a reply to Grouchy's own incorrect information. Had the Marshal seen what he ought to have done, as he might have seen it, he had free liberty of action for the other course, and his march direct on Waterloo would have been reported, and, as a matter of course, approved of. The reply to which is that, if Napoleon was ill-informed and outwitted, who lay much nearer to the Prussians on that fateful night than his lieutenant did, the latter can hardly be blamed for being not better aware of what Blücher was about. And to the Prince's remark that the Prussian assertion is not proved, that in any case Blücher could have held back Grouchy's 36,000 men with 40,000 of his own, and still had available the 50,000 that were actually brought into line of battle at Waterloo, the answer is only too obvious, that the Prussian argument has certainly facts to support it, inasmuch as 16,000 of these troops under Thielemann did actually serve to delay Grouchy before Wavre all the afternoon. On the whole, however, the Imperialist writer is even at this crucial point far in advance of his predecessors in moderation and good sense, as well as in adherence to proper evidence; and his narrative, though dry, is much better worth study than that of Thiers or any other lesser ornament of the French national school.

We would willingly have closed our review here. But, as we have before stated, the book on our table is plainly a book with an object, and the object—that of supplying the Paris market four years since—was sought for by means more characteristic, we are sure, of the then existing Government than of the gallant writer, who is said to have carried an historic name untarnished through some of the severest reverses of the late war. For beside the volume lies another so like it in appearance and form, and even in the very lettering on the cover and title, that it is only by a very close inspection one discovers that they are not two copies of the same work. The one is entitled *Étude de la Campagne de 1815, Waterloo*; the other, *Waterloo, Étude de la Campagne de 1815*. Each is *Par le Lieutenant-Colonel*, whose name is printed in small type. But the one is the Brussels edition of Colonel Chesney's *Waterloo Lectures*; the other is the Imperialist version of the same campaign which was put out in the last days of the Second Empire, that heedless buyers might have something safer to read than so severe a condemnation as that pronounced by the English critic on the great Napoleon's last essay in strategy.

HUTCHINSON'S TWO YEARS IN PERU.*

TWO years of active and observant travel in Peru, with the especial advantages offered by the position of H. M. Consul at Callao, have enabled Mr. Thomas J. Hutchinson, who is already well known by his records of previous impressions of the South American and African continents, to present us with a series of vivid and instructive pictures of the most promising as well as the most interesting of the Southern Republics. A zealous searcher after antiquities, no less than a keen-eyed judge of modern progress, he is studious to estimate at their true significance and value the remains or records of long-gone generations, whilst heedfully noting the signs of growing civilization and the capacities for future development. Notwithstanding the apprehension felt by him at first starting that all which was to be said of Peru, ancient and modern, had been said scores of times already, we have to thank him for a pair of volumes filled with the experiences of a careful observer and enriched with the taste of a lover of the picturesque in nature and art.

The two main points to which Mr. Hutchinson addresses his researches, and which he considers himself to have established by abundant proofs, are the fabulous and worthless character of the chronicles of Garcilasso de la Vega and others, based upon supposed records and monuments of the Incas, and a range of antiquity for the ruins and other relics of native civilization extending far beyond the furthest date of the Inca rule. The Incas he regards indeed with the most profound unbelief, or rather contempt. So far from founding or building up a dominion, a civilization, or a cult, it was their end and function to cast down, obliterate, and destroy all trace of what made the land when they crossed its boundaries fair, prosperous, and civilized. Cities, religious monuments, fortifications, and burying-places of high antiquity or admirable construction were laid low or desecrated by them. Albeit himself, as he confesses, when he first went to Peru, in April 1871, "in the Inca groove," like most people who take an interest in Peruvian literature and antiquities, he became convinced, after travelling and exploring along the coast from Arica to San José—a seaboard of more than a thousand miles—inland further than Arequipa, and to Ica, through the Jejetépéque valley, and up to Machucana, that the relics of art and architecture between the first line of Cordilleras and the Pacific belong to a time "far and away" before

that of the Incas. The reputed temples of the Sun behind Trujillo and at Pacha-Cámac seemed to his eyes only mythically to be invested with an Inca character, nor had the fortress of Paramunca the feeblest claim beyond the *ipse dixit* of Garcilasso and Rivero to be the monument of the Incas' victory over the Chimoos. On the contrary, he holds it to have been erected and garrisoned by the Chimoos themselves. How far back, indeed, we are entitled by the evidences accumulated of late years by Squier and other explorers, including our author himself, to carry the period of human occupation on the Pacific seaboard, is a problem of no little vagueness or difficulty. One test of antiquity confidently relied on by our author is found in the guano deposits which have of late years drawn the attention of Europe to Peru. Under accumulations of bird-droppings extending to a depth of thirty-five feet or so there was found at the Chincha Islands more than one idol carved in wood, and at another spot in the same islands were an image and water-pots of stone at a depth of sixty-two feet. How many thousands of years, he asks, are to be allowed since the race who moulded these by no means inartistic emblems and vessels rose to this pitch of culture and passed way? Of higher art still are the regal emblems and household gods of wood and coarse pottery drawn for Mr. Hutchinson, found at what depth he is not fully aware, but very far down.

Now calculations of this kind must be framed with a great deal of caution. Mr. Hutchinson himself, though without any apparent misgiving, mentions as a proof of similar antiquity the finding on the Guanape Islands, under thirty-two feet of guano, of the body of a penguin flattened to but half an inch in thickness by the pressure of the superincumbent deposit, but otherwise perfect and capable of being set upright for the sketch given in the present volume to be taken. Under it lay a piece of cloth, which with the body was given to the author by Captain Bird. What probability is there of the bird having been preserved in this state for anything like the ages contemplated by Mr. Hutchinson, whatever allowance may be made for the antiseptic properties of the guano under which it was embedded? If, on the other hand, we note the rate at which accumulations of this sort are formed by the rooks, jackdaws, and other birds who flock to the bellies of our cathedrals and churches, we may see cause to doubt whether the multitudinous waterfowl that hover like a cloud over the equatorial islands would take untold ages to enrich the world with sixty feet or so of their valuable refuse. That these combined vestiges of art and nature do carry back the annals of human life and of comparative civilization to a time which was already remote when the Spaniards first came upon the scene, or when the Incas first set up the monarchy which the Spaniards overthrew, we may well admit without extending the tale of years from hundreds to thousands. What amount of caution is needed in dealing with evidences of this character may be further judged from the fact that among Mr. Hutchinson's collection of human skulls and other spoils picked up near Ancon in April 1872, and sent by him to England, was found, as we read in Professor Busk's Report, the entire hoof of a mule, which could only have dated from the intrusion of the Spaniards. The Report of Mr. Price upon the pottery and other objects submitted by Mr. Hutchinson to the Anthropological Society, and included with that of Professor Busk in the Appendix to the present volume, speaks of the exquisite finish and high state of preservation of the nets, as well as of the coloured jars, as hardly to be reconciled with the idea of great antiquity. We agree at the same time with Mr. Baldwin, the author of *Ancient America*, in regarding these as the relics of a people who were driven out either by the Chinchas or by a tribe who preceded them; the Chinchas themselves, be it remembered, being anterior to the Yuncas, who were conquered by the Inca Pachacutec in the fifteenth century. Similar remains bespeak, in our writer's view, the presence of the same race at Pisco, Ica, the Cañete valley, and elsewhere, and convince him that the aboriginal South Americans are of far older descent than the Indians of the Northern continent, who probably came originally from the East across Behring's Straits, and who are represented still by the Koraks and Chookchees of that corner of Asia.

Setting aside the fables swallowed and reproduced by Montesinos, Garcilasso, and the whole host of Spanish tradition-mongers, and used with too little critical discretion by writers like Prescott, there are materials in the buildings, the burial-places, and other abiding relics of the past, which in the hands of Dr. Tschudi, Mr. Clements Markham, and the writer before us, may be said to have become the groundwork of some positive edifice of Peruvian archaeology. With somewhat more of skill in arranging his facts and grouping his arguments, Mr. Hutchinson might have done much towards rearing such a structure. As it is, hurrying us in his footsteps from place to place, he allows himself no time for methodizing his impressions, and gives his readers no help towards a connected view of what he has to propound in the end as an antiquary or an historian. Aided by his illustrations, he gives indeed to these scattered relics of the past the power to tell as far as may be their own tale, to which not a little was contributed by the investigations pushed under his auspices beneath the surface of the soil. It was in particular at Pacha-Cámac, the most august and the most mysterious assemblage of Peruvian monuments, that our author's explanations and researches were productive of fruits. Hundreds of feet below the topmost terrace of those mighty ruins the pickaxes of Chinamen, set to work by him and his companions, brought to light innumerable bodies swathed and bound with rope, which fell to pieces on the admission of air, the eye-sockets in

* *Two Years in Peru; with Exploration of its Antiquities*. By Thomas J. Hutchinson, F.R.G.S., F.R.S.L., M.A., Author of "Impressions of Western Africa," "The Parana, and South American Recollections," &c. With Maps and numerous Illustrations. 2 vols. London: Sampson Low & Co.

some cases stuffed with cotton-flock. With several of the female bodies were the rude fringes or belts which formed the limited costume of antiquity. Others had with them coarse figures of human faces in burnt clay or bags of coca leaves covering the skull. High above this vast huaca or burying-ground was raised what is known as the Temple of the Sun; though why, asks our author, should we find in a temple for the worship of the sun the niches, recesses, or alcoves, which may be presumed to have formed cells for worship, facing the West, instead of the rising of that luminary? And why should there be niches for idol deities, and evidences of sacrificial fires in the soot marks upon a wall leading to the North? Above all, whose hands carried up the enormous quantities of earth that form the successive terraces out of which stand up the walls of stone, or of adobe, or sun-burnt brick? The whole mass is from two to three hundred feet high, and has a semi-lunar shape beyond half a mile in extent, with its concave side towards the south. The height between each of the terraces varies in general from six to eight feet, but the entire mass is too disintegrated and wrecked for clear delineation. The summit area, which was reached in a roundabout way on horseback, was roughly measured as comprising ten acres square.

The system of terrace-building is scarcely less conspicuous at Cuzco or Quito, and at Moyabamba our author traced the lines of terrace for more than two miles along the mountain-side, rising one over the other to the height of more than a hundred feet. On the railway line from San Bartolomé to Surco are seen along the mountain slope the remains of one of these terraced structures, built of enormous stones, their colossal size puzzling the beholder to guess by what mechanical appliances they were placed there. Whether we are to refer to the same age and race the huge walls of heavy stones four yards thick, as at Santa Clara, with the marvellous carved and engraved boulder rocks adjoining the Yonan Pass of the river Jejepeque, or the sloping wall of masonry among the ruins of Chan-Chan, is a further question awaiting solution. Our author does not seem to be enough of a geologist to assign to these boulders their connexion with the great Ice age of the American continent. As an antiquary he is speculative enough at times to take a critic's breath away. Not content with the wild hypotheses which have sprung from the fancied recurrence upon Peruvian pottery of the "Greek scroll" or of Egyptian symbols or ornaments, he drags in Dr. Schliemann's latest discoveries and most sanguine theories from the mounds of Ilium. The hewn stones joined without cement in which the learned Doctor recognizes the walls of Priam have in his eyes "their corresponding state in the Inca period of Peru." We should have expected him to carry the synchronism even further back. The cross with crotchets or limbs met with at Ilium, which enabled Dr. Schliemann to declare that the Trojans were Aryans "at a time when the people now known as Celts, Germans, Persians, Pelasgians, Hellenes, Slavonians, were still one nation and spoke one common language," seems to Mr. Hutchinson decisive of a further extension of the family of contemporary nations and languages. "Take the crotchets away, and what can be said of the cross on the silver cylinder found at Chan-Chan?" The drawing of the cylinder given by our author suggests to us doubts as to the propriety of calling the ornament a cross at all. But antiquaries have, it is well known, a peculiar power of seeing things. There are those who see a Buddhist tope in Avebury or Stonehenge, and, if we mistake not his language, Mr. Hutchinson has a vision of Buddhist caves in Peru. He does indeed stumble at a stone said in a New Granada newspaper to have been found by Don Joaquim de Costa on one of his estates, "erected by a small colony of Phœnicians from Sidonia in the year IX. or X. of Hiram, contemporary of Solomon, about ten centuries before the Christian era." This notable stone—which should make Mr. Schapira or the Berlin savants who have bought his specimens die of envy—is described as having an inscription in eight lines, which, being translated, sets forth the names of the voyagers from Canaan, "who embarked from the port of Azion-gaber (Boy-Akubal), and having sailed for twelve months from the country of Egypt (Africa), carried away by currents, landed at Guayaquil in Peru." We accept with perfect confidence and with sincere gratitude all that our author tells us he has himself seen, while reserving our judgment as to the historical inferences to be drawn therefrom. Nor should we withhold our thanks for the valuable information he has given us touching the present state and future prospects of the Peruvian Republic. His descriptions and illustrations of the flourishing cities desolated by earth shocks—Arica and Arequipa, before and after the earthquake of 1868—the views of Lima, its monuments and people; the bold railway-bridge of Macqui on the Valparaíso and Santiago Railway; the light gossamer-like iron viaduct, 260 feet high, over the Verrugas river; the deep cross cutting of a mountain ridge on the railway track at San Bartolomé—call for special mention as giving force and picturesqueness to a work which is full of life and interest throughout.

THE HEREFORD MAPPA MUNDI.*

FOR generations, and even centuries, visitors to Hereford Cathedral have been introduced to its mediæval Map as a great literary curiosity and one of its most special treasures. After

* *Mediæval Geography: an Essay in illustration of the Hereford Mappa Mundi.* By the Rev. W. C. Bevan and the Rev. H. W. Phillott, M.A. London: E. Stanford. 1873.

undergoing many vicissitudes, being now used as an altar-piece, now suspended and protected by folding doors and clasps in a place by itself, and at another time, according to tradition, secreted with other valuables under a chantry floor during the Civil Wars, this "map of ye world drawn on vellum by a monk" has escaped defacement and retained its reputation, not a little, we suspect, on the principle of "omne ignotum pro magnifico," and through the admiration of those who did not understand it. Saving a few scratches over the edifice which represents Paris, perpetrated at some period of anti-Gallican fever, the "Mappa Mundi" is in such a sound condition, especially since its reparation in 1855, that the curious may study and decipher it with less difficulty than most documents of equal antiquity. Not, however, until recently does it appear that its custodians and admirers were influenced in their careful preservation of it by an intelligent interest. The casual notices of antiquaries and topographers have only glanced at it; and though partial descriptions of it occur in Gough's *British Topography* and Thomas Wright's *Antiquarian Essays*, and a fuller account has been given within the last three or four years in the Rev. F. T. Havergal's interesting *Fasts Herefordenses*, it must be admitted that attention has been chiefly paid to it by foreign geographers, who have been beforehand with us in reproducing the entire map, as well as in giving an adequate description of its contents. At last, however, in a spirit of laudable emulation, it has been taken up by able and willing scholars at home. Messrs. Bevan and Phillott, whilst known in this country and abroad as scholars who have devoted study and pains to geographical science, are both benefited within a short distance of Hereford, and the latter holds also the office of Praelator in the Cathedral, so that his share in the work is the result, we may infer, of a special *esprit de corps*. It has been reserved for these two, with the assistance of two or three experienced coadjutors in the background, to furnish a key to the Hereford "Mappa Mundi" and the lithographed facsimile of it which appeared about two years ago, at once so practical and ingenious that the old map will probably serve henceforth as a familiar example of the freaks and fancies, the wasted industry, and the singularly ungeographical aberrations, of mediæval geography. For, in truth, the "Mappa Mundi" exhibits the ideal of what a map should not be rather than of what it should be. Following the Latin or ecclesiastical school of geography, as contrasted with the Arabian, which was its opposite in point of accuracy and research, it adopts all the crotchets which flow from the acceptance of Jerusalem as the centre of the habitable world, and from the orientation of the map by mediæval cartographers. "The specific fault in the mediæval map," writes Mr. Bevan in his very able, if we may not say exhaustive, introduction,

was that it made Jerusalem the centre of the habitable world—that it consequently fixed the form and limits of that world—and that it forced lands and seas into spaces not adapted to their true form and size. The use of parallels and meridians was absolutely incompatible with such a system of map-drawing. Hence the error and confusion which characterize mediæval maps. Hence the distortion of outlines, and the gross misplacement of towns and countries.

To take an instance of this, it was a natural result of the assumption of Jerusalem's central position, and its situation on the western verge of Asia and in the line of the Mediterranean, that Asia should hold one-half of the world; that its length from East to West should equal that of Europe, and that Europe and Africa, divided by the Mediterranean, should in equal portions divide the other. In consequence of the manipulation required to work out this puzzle, Europe is at first sight hardly recognizable on the Hereford Map. Sins both of omission and commission are manifest in the treatment of land and sea. The North Sea is crowded out to give space to the British Isles. The angle now occupied by Holland is unnoticed. The British Isles protrude southward nearly to Spain, and the opposite coast of France is carried down in a parallel line so that the angle formed by Brittany disappears. It is obvious that mediæval compliance with the tradition that the "terrestrial paradise" was set in the extreme East, and the consequent claims of that quarter as the source of time and as a gate of the sun to occupy the head of the map would be another element of difficulty in delineation; and so also would the adoption, unconsciously or independently perhaps, of the Homeric belief that Ocean was an encircling narrow band surrounding the world towards its outermost verge. The southern half of Ocean from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Terrestrial Paradise has a fairly equable breadth, except where the line is broken by the Arabian Sea and its two-forked gulfs, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, which on the Hereford Map are coloured red, and look strangely like a pair of drawers of that colour hung out on a clothes-line. Whilst we are on the subject of the verge formed by Ocean, it should be said that two outer circles surround the planisphere, one containing the four quarters, the other and inner a table of the winds in a twelvefold division, introduced by Timosthenes and accepted by mediæval as well as classical geographers. Outside of all runs the word "Mors," in capitals far apart, another token of the ecclesiastical origin and antecedents of the mediæval system of geography. Of this school the Hereford Map is the largest, most elaborate, and most orthodox composition in its kind, and in examining it the student will have frequently to take into account the suggestion of Messrs. Bevan and Phillott that the author of the map designed, as the word "estoire" on the inscription at the left hand lower angle of his map would imply, to furnish an illustrated historical record rather than a geographical representation of the world he lived in. A mediæval "Mappa Mundi" was an illustrated romance, peopled and filled

in with human monstrosities, mythic beasts and birds, famous lakes and wells, and noteworthy plants—many of them suggested by a spurious etymology, and all referable to biblical, classical, legendary, or contemporary sources. One lesson to be learnt from it is the comparative neglect of contemporary data, for which in many instances it is difficult to account.

Before, however, making any remarks on the influence of these fourfold materials on the composition of the Map, we must briefly state what our essayists have established about its author. It is certain from the Norman-French inscription above-mentioned that he was one Richard de Bello, prebendary of Lafford (Sleaford) and of Holdingham in the diocese of Lincoln, and treasurer of Lincoln Cathedral, dignities which he seems to have been holding circ. 1250-1260 A.D. His connexion with Lincoln appears to have terminated in 1283, and Bishop Swinfield's Household Roll in its entries for November 1289 associates his name with Herefordshire, though it is not till 1305 that he appears as a prebendary of Hereford. From the notices which Mr. Bevan has collected of him, he appears to have been an ecclesiastic of mark, and if he is to be identified with the mounted sportsman attended by a forester and a leash of greyhounds in the opposite corner of the map, he must have been a well-to-do man of good social position. It is fairly surmised that he drew his map during his tenure of the Lincoln prebend, both because he calls himself "de Haldingham et Lafford," and because he expends more elaborate drawing upon his earlier mother church than upon poor Hereford Cathedral. The curious paradox of the Clees Hill, in the latter diocese, being given as the sole specified English mountain, does not really tell one way or the other as to the question of residence at the time of the drawing of the Map. The name may have been filled in later than the rest of the work, and the mountain may have been introduced, as Mr. Bevan observes, on pure cartographical grounds, to fill up the interval between the Severn and the Dee, and mark the boundary between England and Wales. The handwriting is pronounced to be of a date prior rather than posterior to 1300 A.D.; and Mr. Bevan gives geographical reasons for pronouncing in favour of a date somewhere near 1275, rather than, as M. d'Avezac, a French geographer, held, forty years later. At any rate, there is no small amount of internal evidence from contemporary sources for the approximate date of the Map. Amidst a number of ancient and classical names of towns, islands, and promontories connected with the Mediterranean, we find the modernized form *Palerna*, i. g. *Palermo*, used instead of the ancient *Panormus*, as a town in Sicily. Higden, in his *Polychronicon*, written about the middle of the fourteenth century, uses the modern form, whilst with Roger de Hoveden the chronicler, whose annals extend to 1201 A.D., and who was chaplain to Henry II., the name is in five places still given *Panormus*. It is said that the modern form was introduced into England by the Crusaders; and whilst upon mention of them we may note that on the "Mappa Mundi," *Patras*, the chief naval station of the French knights in the Crusades, figures alongside of Athens, Corinth, Larissa, and Eleusis. On the Map, though the insular character of Venice is greatly exaggerated, the attribution to her of the seven Liburnian Islands is consistent with contemporary history; and though in the delineation of Spain the kingdom of Aragon, or Arragon, is transferred to the North of the Pyrenees, there is some shadow of truth in the drawing, as at the date of the map Roussillon belonged to Aragon. In Spain *Compostu* (i. e. *Compostella*) appears amongst other and less decipherable names, because, no doubt, of its contemporary fame as a resort of pilgrims. Our own *Glestonia* or *Glastonbury*, too, finds a place among English cities, for the most part episcopal, presumably on account of the interest attaching to Edward I.'s visit to view the remains or burial-place of King Arthur in the year 1276, almost the year of the Map. Among the Gascon towns in France, *Fronsac*, *Libourne*, and *Bourg*, all places of note in the Edwardian wars, are given in Latinized form; and when we turn to Scotland, *Berwic* and *Rokesburg* apparently come in for mention as important border fortresses of the same period. These and similar instances will serve as a sample of the cartographer's contemporary resources, though, had we space, we might show that there were many points on which, whatever he might have been as an historical student, he was behind his age geographically.

As might be expected, he came out more strongly in the fruits of Biblical study, though here too some of his data might provoke a smile. Old Testament history is abundantly illustrated even to the forlorn figure of "Lot's wife" in salt on the opposite side of the river Arnon to Mount Seir; the inscription "Horrea Josephi" on the Pyramids; the crowd of Israelites worshipping the golden calf inscribed Mahomet or "Mahum" beyond the Dead Sea; the Ark on the mountains of Armenia, and ever so much more pictorial geography. Palestine is by comparison very tolerably delineated, only it retains the mediæval crotchet of a double source of the Jordan, a "Fons Jor" and a "Fons Dan." The cartographer marks many of the chief places in the Gospels and the Acts, whether in or out of the Holy Land, and one not unamusing mistake arising out of his Biblical studies is where, borrowing from Pliny the dimensions of Gaul, his inscription ascribes the estimate not to Vipsanius Agrippa, but to the only Agrippa he could conceive of, the King Agrippa of the New Testament.

But most of the names on the map are classical, and come at first or second hand from such authors as Orosius, Solinus, and Isidore; and in matters of measurement direct recourse seems to have been had to Pliny. Legendary matter the map-maker drew from William of Malmesbury and the Alexandrian Romance, with other later

works, and he had manifestly at hand a *Bestiarium* and *Herbarium* for his wonderful natural history. It followed from his abundance and variety of materials, especially as in all probability he was very much a "stay-at-home traveller," that he laboured under a plethora of names and data, but found scant room where to bestow them. As we are told in the Introduction, amidst a conscientious parade of the chief classic spots and fables, there is the utmost ignorance and carelessness of arrangement:—

Delphi is confounded with Delos; Thermopylae is an inland range; Corinth stands wholly away from any symptom of the Isthmus. So again in other quarters—*Patmos* is transported into the Black Sea; *Gades* is represented as a large island in the middle of the Straits of Gibraltar; *Calpe* and *Abyla* change places, the latter transported to Africa; the *Syrtis* are apparently placed inland; the *Pactolus* flows into the *Euxine*, and so forth.

By the strangest carelessness the name of Greece does not appear on the map, unless indeed *Icaya* (i. e. *Achaia*) is intended to serve instead of it, according to mediæval usage which gave to *Achaia* a wide significance at the same time that it limited *Hellad* or *Hellas* to *Attica*.

Our space limits us to the barest description of the mythical additions to the Map; but no amount of description can serve instead of ocular inspection of this choice assemblage of monstrosities, classical and legendary. While fortified cities and cathedrals stud the Map in respectable frequency, we find here, there, and everywhere (if there is any preference, it is naturally given to Africa) groups of grotesque malformations, such as the mouthless people near the Ganges; the *Sciapodes* or *Monocoli* of Asia and Africa, who make an umbrella of their sole leg and foot; the earless *Ambari* of Ethiopia; the *Nubians*, who find shelter from the sun in their protruding lip; the *Blemys*, with mouth and eyes placed in their breasts; the maritime Ethiopians with four eyes apiece, and their near neighbours, "whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders." In the "Fauni-semicaballi homines" we seem to meet with a cross of the classical Centaur, and in the man who bestrides the "Cocadilus," in the Isle of Meroe, an anticipator, as Mr. Phillott reminds us, of the exploit of Mr. Waterton. But the master-key to the complete *Bestiarium* represented on this Map must not be looked for from a reviewer. The curious must buy the facsimile of the "Mappa Mundi" (or reduced copies of it, in divers sizes and at divers prices, for these are now to be had), and with it Messrs. Bevan and Phillott's able illustrative essay. A careful reading of the latter, with frequent reference to the former, will explain the curious phenomena of the Map, and, enabling us to put ourselves in Richard de Bello's place, will show what amount of method there is in his seeming madness. Of his queer freaks none are odder than his delineation of the British Isles, which is out of all proportion, and has its names filled in with the most utter disregard of distances and facts. In Wales, where only three names besides *Snowdon* are entered, *Conway* figures in close proximity to *St. David's*. A channel connects the Bristol and English Channels in the neighbourhood of *Glastonbury*. The Norman town of *Caen* (*Cadan*) is taken from the southern and pitched down on the northern side of the channel; and that there is no confusion with *Calne* in Wilts (which might quite consist with the cartographer's ideas of accurate localization) is plain from the fact that *De Hoveden* always gives "Calne" (*sic*) in his Latin Annals, but *Caen* as *Cadamus* or *Cadomus*. In their last page our essayists give up the identification of the two islands which figure with the Isle of Man in the sea between Ireland and Scotland. They are named *Insula Arietum* and *Insula Avium*. The latter, an ingenious friend suggests to us, may have been meant as a monkish conceit for *St. Columba's Isle*, which the cartographer would not have called "Iona." We are not sure ourselves but that in *Insula Arietum* may lurk a fanciful reference to the Isle of Arran.

SOPLY'S MEMOIR OF DAVID COX.*

WERE we asked to name the most essentially English of our landscape-painters we should without difficulty fix on Cox, Constable, and Gainsborough. These artists are not only English because they seldom or never sought for a subject beyond our shores, but also because of their simply homish style. A breezy heath, a showery sky, a lock, a mill, and a market-cart speak of unspoilt nature and of unsophisticated life, of an art undressed and undecorated, of pictures which, like rustic peasants, wear a homely garb. In these landscapes not only have the trees been beaten by the storm and the rocks washed by the rain, but even the figures are creatures of the elements; the children of Gainsborough knew nought of city guile, the boys of Cox listened to the skylark as if they needed only nature's music, the clouds of Constable tell of "greatcoat weather," yet they bring no terror to wayfarer or labourer. Indeed one characteristic of these our home-born painters is that everything seems as it were at home at its ease, resting in quiet content; theirs is an art unmoved by ambition; the peasant has no wish to be a lord, and the little hills do not desire to exalt themselves into mountains. This is an art which, like nature herself, loves repose.

David Cox, like Turner, was of humble origin; both artists were

* *Memoir of the Life of David Cox, Member of the Society of Painters in Water-Colours; with Selections from his Correspondence and some Account of his Works.* By N. Neal Solly. Illustrated with numerous Photographs from Drawings by the Artist's own hand. London: Chapman & Hall, 1873.

self-made men. Turner was the son of a London barber, and Cox the son of a Birmingham blacksmith. Young Cox, by what would now seem to have been a piece of good luck, broke his leg, for it was to his consequent disability that he owed his first entrance into art. While his leg was in splints he amused himself by painting kites; the lad afterwards went to a free school, but was withdrawn as soon as he could be of use in his father's workshop. However, his strength not being equal to hard manual labour, David forsook the anvil for the paint-pot; he was apprenticed to the toy trade, and decorated snuff-boxes; he, then at the age of fifteen, became bound to a locket and miniature painter. A locket still in the possession of Mr. David Cox, jun., shows that the young apprentice had gained accuracy of form and delicacy of handling. But, the suicide of his master throwing him once more adrift, he sought like Claude employment in grinding colours. Macready, father of the tragedian, and lessee and manager of the newly-built theatre at Birmingham, spared no pains in order to put dramas on the stage in good style, and young Cox proved so clever that he raised himself from the station of colour-grinder to the office of stage-painter. In those days it was the custom for a company of provincial players to move from town to town accompanied by the scene-painter. "In this way Cox travelled about with the players to Bristol, Leicester, Sheffield, Manchester, Liverpool." The practice thus gained is said, not without reason, to have conduced to the large generalized manner, the breadth of composition, and knowledge of effect which characterized the painter's mature works. It is interesting to remember that David Roberts and Clarkson Stanfield showed to the very last the good effects of the same schooling. Yet young Cox, like these his illustrious contemporaries, regarded scene-painting as merely a stepping-stone to something higher; he had, in fact, set his heart on becoming a landscape-painter. The young aspirant when working for the elder Macready was only nineteen years old. The following anecdote, which we take from this chatty "Memoir," will be read with interest:—

Macready's son, W. C. Macready, who became so celebrated as an actor in after life, was then a child; and Cox, with his usual kindness, painted a complete set of miniature scenery for various dramas, to be used in a toy or puppet theatre which had been made for the little boy, probably by one of the carpenters. These scenes were so much prized and so well taken care of that they were still in existence only a very few years ago. The esteem so early formed for the youthful scene-painter in young Macready's mind lasted until the end of his career, as is proved by a most friendly letter written half a century afterwards by the great actor, when the testimonial portrait was projected, to which Macready sent a subscription of two guineas.

This volume, notwithstanding critical and other deficiencies, is the best record we are likely to have of a painter whom we honour as having lived in and for his art; the man and his works are shown to be one and inseparable. The narrative is in the tone of familiar and affectionate friendship. The photographs and other illustrations are well chosen, though they come out with a blackness little in keeping with the artist's proverbial tenderness. We have to observe on a strange omission in a work which presumes to be exhaustive; no mention is made of the collection of Mr. John Henderson, long known to be among the most important in the country. The author would do well to visit the Burlington Fine Arts Club, where fifty of these drawings, belonging mostly to the artist's middle and best period, are on exhibition.

The career of David Cox after he came to London was chequered; he began in a small way, he gave lessons, he struggled on as best he could; he sold occasionally a drawing at a low price. An old account book tells us that in the year 1811 he disposed of "one small drawing for 7s., one coloured drawing for 10s. 6d., and "one dozen sepia drawings for 8s. each." Even up to the age of thirty he was in such low water that he accepted an offer of 100*l.* a year to teach drawing in a ladies' school at Hereford; nevertheless we learn that in a single year he found leisure to send no less than twenty-two contributions to the Old Water-Colour Society. David Cox was at all times a hard worker; over a period of half a century he made each year several hundred drawings and sketches, and in all he exhibited in the Society of Painters in Water-Colours close upon eight hundred works. And perhaps, with the single exception of Turner, there has never been known a rise in prices so astounding; but, as often happens, the artist himself reaped only a small part of the rich harvest. The painter who was glad, as we have seen, to sell sepia drawings at eight shillings apiece, might at present prices have realized for his life's labours at least a hundred thousand pounds. The rise in value has been truly fabulous; drawings which some years ago passed through the hands of dealers at fifty pounds now command in auction rooms five hundred. This rage might seem unreasonable were it not that David Cox stands alone; in his peculiar line he is unapproached.

David Cox makes strong appeal to an Englishman's love of country; he awakens in the mind a thousand associations which gather around fields, hedgerows, and rural lanes. Wide and sweeping are his horizons, wild and windy are his moorlands. To claim for his art imagination or passion would be too much, but it has all the persuasiveness of strong conviction; it is penetrated with profound purpose; in motive it is sombre, solemn, and even sad. The strength of the artist lay, as we have said, in his downright and honest English character; other painters have done justice to Italy or to Switzerland, but he found his heart's content in an atmosphere of mist and fog. And he not only painted climate in general, but weather in particular. It has been said in apology for our English seasons that there

is no country in the world in which a person can take so many outdoor walks in the course of the year; it is true that fields may be wet, the sky shrouded, the sun blotted out, but still a "constitutional" is practicable. Such is the atmospheric condition which David Cox so puts upon paper as to educe space and aerial perspective. He is the painter of what may be called "weather"; he aimed, we are told, to depict certain hours of the day; but he did more; he indicates the state of the barometer; his drawings might be labelled "stormy," "change," "fair." He preferred, however, the middle gauge; his storms have promise of sunshine just as his fine weather threatens a shower. His skies are full of rain, his grass is wet with the dew of the morning. Yet Cox seldom, like Turner, threw himself into the complex drama of the elements; and being thus somewhat circumscribed, it became all the more easy to preserve the "unities." Time, place, action were not with him separate entities; they were all one, the work had an unbroken wholeness. His drawings leave little to desire, because they fulfil all that they promise.

David Cox in the technique of his art ranks among the purest of our water-colour painters. He eschewed opaque pigments. Water-colours were for him emphatically a medium of water; his paper might be said to be afloat; his rain clouds were literally full of water. And then, when the waters were a little subsiding, so that the dry land began to appear, he would divide the heavens from the earth, mark the middle distance, and make the foreground, at least in parts, firm enough to stand on. Indeed his work may be said to lie on the frontier line of creation and chaos. He had a way of letting a drawing take care of itself; he willingly availed himself of happy accidents, and allowed the colours to gravitate and graduate as they capriciously saw fit. Hence the "blottesque style," which at last degenerated into a confirmed mannerism. His drawings might almost be taken as illustrations of "the philosophy of the unconditioned"; they are without boundary lines or defined limitations, they reach into infinite space and enter the region of the unknown. So bold are they in generalization, so negligent of detail, that to many they may appear as only half finished; but the artist had that rarest of all knowledge—he knew what to leave out and when to leave off. He discovered moreover that the undefined is full of suggestion, that shadow-land has mystery and hidden meaning, that vanishing outlines give a sense of transition and evanescent movement. David Cox is said to have studied Claude and Poussin, but in his works we fail to discover the cloudless sunshine of the one or the sculptured form and the balanced symmetry of the other. With more reason has it been stated that his style owed much to the early masters of the English art of water-colour painting—Girtin, Varley, Barrett, and others. Comparisons, too, though forced and somewhat far-fetched, have been made between Turner and Cox; the one may be likened to a full orchestral band, while the other is as the musician who is content to play on a single string. At the time when the sun of Turner was setting in a blaze of red, Cox still held in quiet greys the sky of the morning. On the whole, David Cox in sketchy suggestiveness most nearly approaches that greatest of sketchers, William Miller; he was grand in disorder, masterly in hasty negligence; like nature herself, he evokes harmony out of discord and order from confusion.

COLONEL DACRE.*

WE own to a strong dislike to sentimentalities and affectations, both in books and in real life. Hence for such people as those who vapour and attitudinize through the pages of *Colonel Dacre* we have neither sympathy nor respect; nor can we commend their author for the lifelike quality of her impersonations or for the interest she has been able to excite. We are pretty well acquainted with the range of feminine light literature, and know by heart the stock of lay figures employed, but we cannot say that the more we see of them the better we like them; and we think that a final carting of them all away to the limbo reserved for the inane and impossible would be the best thing that could happen to them and the world at large. Who indeed does not know the well-worn form of the puppets that do duty for representations of living men and women in this new book by the author of *Caste*? The grave, tender, elderly hero, a very Sir Galahad for purity, knight and lover, leader of men and squire of dames in one, is of course the central figure; nor does it trouble the author that, with every virtue under heaven, Colonel Dacre wants even the smallest qualifying grain of commonsense, and that his real manliness is no more perceptible than his wisdom. That queer, overstrained moral high falutin' which is set forth as the law whereby he lives is not manliness; and we hold his action with regard to Alice as distinctly reprehensible, not, as the author sets it forth, noble and generous. When a man has engaged himself to a young woman, it is his duty to protect her from outside influences rather than throw her into them. If by the natural course of events she drifts away from him, and falls in love with somebody else, his course is then manifestly clear, and he must in honour forego the claims which he could not enforce without cruelty. But for an elderly man wilfully to fling his betrothed into the society of a fascinating youth, to disregard her piteous beseechings to be "taken care of," and to be "kept near him," and to do his best to create the love

* *Colonel Dacre*. By the Author of "Caste," "My Son's Wife," "Pearl," &c. 3 vols. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1874.

which is to rob him of his own happiness, is a case of virtue carried into the regions of fault and folly. Colonel Dacre, posed as a grave, steadfast, soldierly man, when dissected proves to be as weak as a woman and as gushing as a schoolgirl. As for this last quality, he goes through a vast amount of hugging and kissing during his history, and seems to be unable to keep his arms or hands to himself. When he first comes home he gives his elderly sister "close and warm kisses," and "lovingly passes his hand over the white hair," as he says to her, "You! you will never be old, Olivia. You are one of the immortals." Naturally, when Alice comes to greet him, he "folds her to him as gently as if she had been indeed a flower," and leans his face "down upon the golden head." When he introduces Julian to his sister, his hand grasps the young man's shoulder, and there is a general effusiveness wonderfully out of proportion to the occasion. Indeed this gallant manful soldier is always putting his hand on Julian's shoulder, throwing his arm round Olivia, folding Alice to his broad breast, and the like, in a manner that has at least one merit, inasmuch as it fits in with the cloying, love-sick spirit of the book, and is in fact what the story is in feeling. His good-night to Alice on the evening of the day of her introduction to Julian is a masterpiece of the kissing kind:—

He held her against his breast, he kissed her forehead, her mouth, her eyes, and then, when he let her go from his arms, her hands. There was something so different in this "good night" from their usual good nights, that Alice's wonder grew to trouble. She was flushed and agitated when she got to her own room, and that night it was long before she could sleep; and when she slept, she had strange dreams—of love, and loss, and grief.

The lights were burning in Colonel Dacre's room and he was walking to and fro in it great part of that night—walking to and fro, with head bent down like a man in profound meditation.

This is the beginning of that renunciation in favour of his young friend which Colonel Dacre decides on making in a gratuitous way which was certainly half an insult and a whole wrong. Julian, however, seems to have been marvellously fascinating in his degree. To be sure he has no backbone; but in this he is of a piece with the rest of his invertebrate company. Even Olivia, the white-haired sister, who has almost a monopoly of the minute amount of sense bestowed on the personages in this book, is fascinated. We must give the extract as a sample of our author's style. It is a fair and characteristic example:—

Olivia straightway fell in love with young Mr. Farquhar. This white-haired Olivia was far more susceptible and tender of heart than the dark-haired woman of many years ago had been. It was little Alice who had changed and softened Olivia. The child's worshipful love for Olivia had stimulated Olivia to starve her faults and to nourish her virtues, that she might be something less unlike what "the child" loved her as being. There was something, Olivia thought, very winning in the appearance, but still more in the manner, of this dark loving eyed, broad white browed, gentle, but deep voiced, tall, slight, rather boyish-looking "young Julian;" something, too, which appealed to the motherliness in her, reminding her of what her Walter had been at the same age—her Walter, whom she had loved for his dead mother, as well as for herself. And this lad, too (so white-haired Olivia called him), was fatherless and motherless, as her Walter had been. Even had he had no charm of face and no fascination of manner, Olivia's heart would, probably, have warmed to him, and he had both.

Before they had talked together a quarter of an hour, Olivia's captivation was complete. They talked exclusively of her brother; and the earnest tones of Julian's voice, and the fire that woke in the slumberous depths of his eyes as he spoke, each word of speech being praise, of Colonel Dacre, made Olivia's liking for the speaker rapidly change for love.

At another time, when Julian comes riding over to Heatherstone, Colonel Dacre discourses of him in this wise to his sister:—

"With what an easy, gallant sort of grace he sits his horse, Olivia! His hand has the lightness of a lady's, and the iron nerve of a knight's. He only needs armour and the more heroic dress, to be just the young knight, spotless and stainless—Sir Galahad, for instance—of an old legend; or the fairy-prince of an old fairy-tale."

"At his age you were at least his equal, brother!"

"Even if that were ever so, save in your half-maternal imagination, Olivia, how long since that time is made to feel when one remembers that I might now be, as far as age goes, this fine young fellow's father."

"Hardly, Walter, or only on a scale of computation which would enable me to say I might have been his grandmother."

"Come, dear Grannie, let us down and welcome Prince Julian; and I know that, for my sake, and also for his own, when you are face to face with him, your welcome will be a right loving one."

Circumstances cause this fascinating young prince to stay at Heatherstone, on which Colonel Dacre insists that the "two children," as he calls them, shall drop the formal courtesy of Miss Fairfax and Mr. Farquhar, and be Alice and Julian to each other. Alice and Julian therefore they are; and this after Julian's enthusiasm has exhaled itself in the confession that to love Alice would be "like loving a moonbeam, a lily, a dewdrop, or a fairy." Then Julian puts his shoulder out of joint or hurts his arm, and Alice is told off as his amanuensis to write from his notes and dictation a certain novel which he is composing. The two young people are shut up together in a pretty luxurious little room, to the increase of Alice's facility for soft little sobs, tears, flushes, intense eyes, and general dewdrop-like behaviour; to Julian's boneless helplessness on the score of falling in love with his friend's betrothed; to Colonel Dacre's soldierly disquiet, but resolute determination to let the children come to terms if they so will it; and to the white-haired Olivia's indignation at her brother's folly, seeing that she has educated "little Alice" all along in the hope of making her his wife; which, however kind, was scarcely natural. We might perhaps take exception to a certain passage of playful badinage between Colonel Dacre and young Mr. Julian about Alice. It is where

Colonel Dacre welcomes Julian to Heatherstone; which he does, by the by, in a manner perfectly impossible to an ordinary sane Englishman, saying, with his hand "again on Julian's shoulder," and after he has relinquished Alice's hand with "a loving pressure":—

"The heartiest of heart-felt welcomes! Take the Spanish compliment as a sober, sincere statement, and consider me, my house, and all that is mine at your disposition, young friend."

With a mischievous light sparkling in his eyes, Julian replied, out of careless lightness of heart, glancing at Alice as he spoke,

"With one exception I think, sir."

Alice flushed rosy red, as he had seen her flush once before. Colonel Dacre answered, smiling, avoiding any look at Alice which might add to her embarrassment,

"I think I need make no exception. In such a case, of all or nothing, the act of reservation would imply a doubt, so it seems to me, as to whether one were really in possession of the thing reserved."

One admires the taste that could include the transfer of an engaged woman as among the hospitalities so generously offered. Not less wonderful is the diction these wonderful people employ, where, instead of calling a girl rude or cross, she is said to be "somewhat irritant and sharp-tongued just now"; instead of saying "Mrs. Burmander wants Miss Fairfax to stay with her," Julian's translation is "she petitions that you will spare Miss Fairfax to her for a few days"; and where Julian, whose "loving-looking eyes were gazing about him lovingly," quotes poetry and talks priggish slipshod about "an atmosphere of delicious soothing calm," "the very poetry of repose," and the like, instead of the average youth's vernacular, "awfully jolly kind of place."

But if the earlier part of the story is cloying and sentimental, what shall we say of the latter? What of that curious creature Mrs. Winter? of that marvellous chapter headed "Storgé"? of the extraordinary revelations made by the parental, maternal, and filial instinct? which, were they possible, would sometimes be embarrassing. We have seldom read anything funnier in its way than the account of Mrs. Winter, beginning with her holding Julian's head on her lap and finding his face—"just a face for a mother's loving worship"—first of all like Giotto's dead Christ, and then, as it turns out by what follows, like Colonel Dacre's. The old Doctor, on the other hand, sees a likeness between his young patient and "Madame"; and what with shadowy resemblances, natural sentimentality, impossible white heat of feelings, universal high falutin', and storgé, Mrs. Winter "carries on" over the invalid in a way irresistibly suggestive of a friendly lunatic asylum. Julian is asleep; time, a balmy spring evening; place, an Italian villa; circumstance, storgé working to a maddening extent, so that, in spite of the balmy atmosphere, Mrs. Winter is growing colder and colder, the beating of her heart heavier and heavier, "as if it were trying to beat out her feeble life as soon as possible," and her "one over-mastering desire to do the thing she had resolved she must not and would not do" strengthening as all the rest grows weaker. "And this thing was to fall at Julian's feet, to cover them with kisses, and to press them to her breast, while she claimed him as hers—her son, her own, her very own, her all!" Conquering storgé so far as to be able to keep her place and leave his feet alone, though she touched his hair, Mrs. Winter then puts Julian through his catechism, and learns that he is practically nameless, having been adopted by a certain Captain Farquhar out of pure human kindness. Mrs. Winter, still possessed by storgé, speaks of his mother—says she must be dead, else she would claim him. "Ah, but if to claim him were to shame him," cried Julian, and his young voice was stern, and on his smooth young brow came a frown." After a little more tall talk, says Mrs. Winter, with more gush than physiology, "The children of shame do not have such faces as yours." Coming finally to the full belief that storgé was right and that Julian is her son and Colonel Dacre's, a child, not of shame, but of lawful wedlock, Mrs. Winter flies off to Marseilles to get out of Colonel Dacre's way, and deliver up to Sir Everard Kennedy a fair but pig-eyed daughter of whom she has taken charge—Sir Everard, by the way, having "Mediterranean blue eyes" that "gleam phosphorescently." Meanwhile, Colonel Dacre flies off to Julian; and then at his request follows Mrs. Winter, sees her, is recognized, but does not as yet recognize in his turn. At last the mystery is unravelled, and the strong arms do a great deal of conjugal hugging; Sybil, Mrs. Winter, takes back the place of wife which she had abandoned twenty-five years ago because of a fit of passion and pique; the "children" marry, and Alice learns that she has always loved "Lonel," as she calls the Colonel, more as a father than as a lover; and so everything comes round to its exact place, and all the hooks find their fitting eyes.

We protest against such books as *Colonel Dacre* as being false in tone, enervating in influence, and sickly in spirit, to say nothing of their bad and affected style. No one acts as these people act, and no one talks as they talk; and what with Sir Galahad and storgé, animated moonbeams that do nothing but sob and blush and cry, and life at a universal pitch of exaggeration, we lay the book down with a sense of unreality and weariness that renders "the end" the most welcome word of the whole three volumes.

FRENCH LITERATURE.

WHEN the history of French literature during the present century comes to be written, M. Théophile Gautier's *Histoire du romantisme* will be one of the most valuable sources of information.

* *Histoire du romantisme, suite de notices, etc.* Par Théophile Gautier. Paris: Charpentier.

mation. It is not so very long since the æsthetic revolution took place which is identified with the names of Victor Hugo, Mérimée, Sainte-Beuve, and Théophile Gautier himself; and yet, if we look at the latest results of that movement, it seems as if an abyss separated us from the first appearance of the *Odes et ballades*, the *Théâtre de Clara Gazul*, and the *Comédie de la Mort*. This is not the place to inquire into the causes of a collapse which is as real as it is deplorable; but there is no doubt that, with very few exceptions, if we open the works of the authors who thirty years ago shone in the ranks of the *romantiques*, we shall wonder what we could find to admire in them. Take, for instance, the novels of M. Petrus Borel, the "lycanthropist," or those of M. Alphonse Royer; we defy the most enthusiastic worshipper of literary eccentricity to read any of them from beginning to end, and the much-abused *bourgeois* who ventured to hint that even *Hernani*, like the sun, had its spots, was not so very wrong after all. The volume we are now noticing is the first instalment of a series designed to comprise all M. Théophile Gautier's posthumous writings. It is divided into three distinct sections—1. A sketch of the origin of the *romantique* movement; 2. Short biographical reminiscences of the principal authors, poets, painters, musicians, who took part in it; 3. A description of the influence it produced on the literature of our own day. This last section is a reprint of the *compte-rendu* drawn up some years ago by M. Gautier at the suggestion of the Imperial Government.

In reviewing a selection of Ronsard's * poems, we are still to a certain extent dealing with the subject discussed in the *Histoire du romantisme*; for the rehabilitation of the Vendômois lyricist was one of the chief attempts made by the innovators who had rallied around M. Victor Hugo, and in 1828 M. Sainte-Beuve, by his *Tableau de la poésie française au seizième siècle*, appealed with much eloquence and learning against the verdicts of Malherbe and Boileau. There is no doubt that, notwithstanding the radical defect of his starting-point—namely, the Latinizing and Hellenizing of French poetry—Ronsard was a man of true genius, and the judicious extracts given by Sainte-Beuve in the volume just referred to would suffice to establish his reputation. M. Becq de Fouquières has reproduced these pieces, together with a number of others carefully selected from a very large collection. Some are given entire; a great many which it would have been impossible to print in *extenso* have supplied a certain amount of interesting fragments. The learned editor has added copious notes, an index, and Claude Binet's biography of the poet. This sketch, being written by a friend and disciple of Ronsard, gives us details the authenticity of which cannot be questioned.

Malherbe, like Ronsard, was a literary reformer, and many critics still consider him the father of French classical poetry. He succeeded to the brilliant harvest of the Renaissance, and whilst the members of the Pleiad show in their works all the exuberance of youth, together with its corresponding defects, Malherbe and his followers substitute polish instead of vigour, and calm dignity in the place of glowing imagery. Those who would become really acquainted with the development of French poetry should study both Malherbe and Ronsard, and in both cases a selection carefully made is amply sufficient. Professed scholars will of course peruse from end to end M. Prosper Blanchemain's ten-volume Ronsard, and M. Ludovic Lalanne's five-volume Malherbe; but we would recommend to the majority of readers M. Becq de Fouquières as an excellent guide.† His selection from the works of Boileau's favourite writer is unexceptionable, and deserves to be widely circulated as a companion volume to the one we have just noticed; besides a variety of notes, and an index, it gives us the life of Malherbe by Racan, and a commentary which André Chénier composed when he was still very young. This curious production, discovered in 1842 by M. Tenant de Latour on the margins of an old volume, was published for the first time as part of the edition of Malherbe which M. Charpentier issued in his popular series of the French classics.

Saint-Simon's Memoirs have obtained such popularity that we should be glad to know more about the author, and we want to be told why the MS. documents which he left behind him are still kept away from historical students.‡ M. Armand Baschet, thoroughly experienced in researches of this kind, and already known by several valuable works, explains the whole affair in an elegant octavo forming the necessary complement to Messrs. Hachette's edition of the great memoir writer. It is generally supposed that Saint-Simon's papers were and still are locked up at the French Foreign Office for political reasons; but, if such is the case, why did not the Memoirs share the same fate? The fact is that when, in 1760, the Duke de Choiseul ordered the seizure of these voluminous MSS. in the King's name, "comme concernant le service du roi et de l'état," he was really interfering at the request of the family; and, as a proof that a hundred years ago the Saint-Simon papers were not looked upon as inaccessible, we may mention the successive permissions granted to the Abbé de Voisenon, Duclos, Marmontel, Soulaire, and Lemontey to make extracts from them. Finally, Louis XVIII. ordered that the original MS. of the memoirs should be given back to the General Marquis de

Saint-Simon, second cousin of the author, but at the same time the remaining papers were still retained at the Foreign Office. From the enumeration which M. Baschet gives of them we see that they must be extremely important, and that they would form a valuable commentary on the Memoirs. They include an extensive correspondence, historical fragments, papers relating to Saint-Simon's embassy in Spain, &c. M. Baschet has explained in detail the circumstances connected with the origin, the nature, and the sequestration of these papers; he has quoted several letters written either by Saint-Simon or by his friends; and he has made out an excellent case for the free use and publication of documents which would help us to a more complete knowledge of the reign of Louis XIV. and the subsequent Regency. The book is sumptuously printed and illustrated, with an etching representing the castle of La Ferté Vidame, formerly the property of the Saint-Simon family.

M. Dantier's * name is already favourably known; we reviewed his history of the Italian Benedictine monasteries some years ago, and pointed out at the time how satisfactorily the author had taken up the work begun by Mabillon and Montfaucon. The two volumes now before us are further proofs of his indefatigable industry; they comprise a series of monographs based upon researches made during a long residence in Italy, and they take us from the invasions of the Barbarians to the eighteenth century. The preface explains very fully the peculiar characteristics of Italian civilization, and the necessity of studying it, not only in printed or written documents, but in the evidence supplied by sculpture, architecture, and painting. The first volume is devoted to a narrative of the early invasions. Theodoric, King of the Goths; the Lombards and their relations with Pope Gregory the Great; the Lombard communal system; the Normans; the struggles between the Emperors and the Papacy—such are the various subjects handled by M. Dantier with his well-known erudition. The second volume discusses several episodes in the history of Florence, more especially that of the Medici; it gives besides interesting particulars on the events in which Savonarola, Machiavelli, and Cæsar Borgia took a conspicuous part. The treacherous and violent policy of the age of the Borgias is branded as it deserves. Venice forms the topic of the concluding essay; and, whilst inquiring into the character of its government, its greatness, and its fall, M. Dantier leads us naturally to our own times.

The literary history of the French theatre has often been discussed, and therefore M. Despois leaves it almost completely aside in his very interesting volume.† The subject he examines is a totally different one, and yet has a close connexion with it; for, whatever may be the power of genius, the ablest and most accomplished writer must take into consideration certain material and moral facts without which no dramatic art is possible. M. Despois, starting with the year 1658, when Molière established his company in Paris, lays before us the whole management of the theatrical world during the reign of Louis XIV. First of all comes an enumeration of the different companies, with the places where they performed and the various circumstances of their origin; the second book deals with questions of expenditure, administration, police, censorship, &c. In the third our author gives us many curious details respecting the status of literary men two hundred years ago, and their relations with the actors at the several theatres; then come the actors themselves, their tribulations, and their social disadvantages. The last two chapters, entitled respectively *La comédie à la cour* and *La comédie à la ville*, are of a more literary character than the others, and show what were the intellectual sympathies of the play-going public during the *grand siècle*. M. Despois has taken the opportunity of refuting one of the most popular legends in the life of Molière as handed down by tradition since the days of Grimaire; we mean the story which represents Louis XIV. inviting Molière to breakfast with him because *mes valets de chambre ne le trouvent pas assez bonne compagnie pour eux*.

Originality is not a quality which we commonly expect to find in scientific books, but it must be acknowledged that the author of *Les Atlantes*‡ is decidedly original. His object in writing this thick octavo is to prove the real existence of the powerful nation described by Plato in the *Timæus*. M. Roisel argues his case with a plausibility which may startle sceptics, if it fails to convince them. The traditions of various nations, such as the Mexicans and the people of Central America, speak of a terrible catastrophe which submerged an immense territory situated between that continent and the coast of Africa; the West India Islands, as they are called, being the only remains of what M. Roisel thinks must have originally been the Atlantis. A similar tradition exists amongst the Amakona in Africa. Starting from these premisses, and calling to his assistance the multifarious aids supplied by philology, geography, ethnography, and metallurgy, our author endeavours to reconstruct the history of a nation which has hitherto been considered as having no more authentic existence than Gulliver's Lilliput or Campanella's City of the Sun.

MM. Vivien de St-Martin and Figuier still continue the publication of their most useful handbooks. The former writer has in his new volume § devoted a considerable space to Asia, because

* *Poésies choisies de P. de Ronsard, avec notes et index.* Par L. Becq de Fouquières. Paris: Charpentier.

† *Poésies de F. Malherbe, accompagnées du commentaire d'André Chénier, de notes, etc.* Par L. Becq de Fouquières. Paris: Charpentier.

‡ *Le duc de Saint-Simon, son cabinet et l'histoire de ses manuscrits.* Par Armand Baschet. Paris: Plon.

* *L'Italie, études historiques.* Par A. Dantier. Paris: Didier.

† *Le Théâtre français sous Louis XIV.* Par Eugène Despois. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

‡ *Les Atlantes.* Par Roisel. Paris: Germer-Baillière.

§ *L'année géographique.* Par M. Vivien de St-Martin. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

the researches and explorations connected with that continent have this year derived their interest quite as much from politics as from science. The publications treating of Asia are both numerous and important, and M. de St.-Martin gives a complete enumeration of them, drawing special notice to the most striking. The bibliographical part of his volume is excellent; and the biographical notices which terminate it include many illustrious names, those of MM. Agassiz, Pauthier, Stanislas Julien, and Maury, amongst others. Some of these appear also in the necrological summary appended by M. Louis Figuier to his valuable compilation*, the recent instalment of which is distinguished by all the qualities characteristic of the previous ones.

M. Arsène Houssaye publishes a new edition of his gossiping volumes on the Regency of the Duke of Orleans.† They have been so often noticed that it is almost superfluous to speak of them again, were it not that it is always useful to caution the public against works of a doubtful tendency, especially when the author is one whose popularity has long been established. Now M. Houssaye sees perfectly well what were the causes which brought about the disasters of the last ten years of Louis XIV.'s reign; but he has not a word of condemnation for the state of things which the subsequent Regency introduced. In his opinion, wit, the spirit of sociability, the talent for conversation, and that courage which is natural to Frenchmen, cover a multitude of sins; and he is in his true element when, surrounded by all the memoirs, *ans*, correspondence, pamphlets, and gazettes so plentifully illustrative of the last century, he draws from them the materials for a portrait of an abbé, an actress, or a philosopher. M. Houssaye finds no blot in the age of Madame de Pompadour, and the catholicity of his disposition enables him to include in the same comprehensive admiration Massillon and Dubois, D'Aguesseau and Adrienne Lecouvreur, Vauvenargues and Madame de Tencin.

Mirabeau forms a kind of transition between the old and the new régime; he had all the vices and corruption of the one, combined with the impetuosity, the generosity, the passion for equity and justice which characterized the other. We do not wonder at the magic attraction which he has always exercised, and Madame Louise Colet is only one amongst many writers who have yielded to the charm.‡ The book of which she now publishes an improved edition is a quasi-novel intended to describe an important passage in Mirabeau's life, the history of his quarrels with a despotic and selfish father; we may say that this prolonged struggle is, on a small scale, a counterpart of the dissensions which were then agitating French society. Madame Colet has portrayed it with much ability, and this new edition of her book is augmented by a considerable number of historical documents.

M. Victor Cherbuliez gives us an interesting account § of the revolutions which have recently visited the Spanish peninsula. Spain, he says, is the country in modern Europe where the army has the greatest influence, and the various *pronunciamientos* which history has had to chronicle within the last fifty years show to what a degree the pretorian system has become part and parcel of the national life. The peculiar feature of the case here is that the soldiery, instead of making what M. Cherbuliez calls *de la politique de caserne*, are altogether in favour of Parliamentary ideas. *Pronunciamientos*, however, cannot go on for ever without making all regular and settled government impossible, and military license does not change its nature by borrowing the cant of an anarchical Liberalism.

The brochure of M. Legouvé || is a homage paid to a man who more than any other writer perhaps, except Béranger, has represented what may be called *l'esprit français* during the nineteenth century. Despite all their genius, the authors of *Hernani* and of *Antony* never succeeded in obtaining for their dramatic system the letters of naturalization which they believed they would receive without any difficulty. The enthusiasm they inspired was limited to a coterie, and after the first moment of surprise they saw themselves abandoned by the majority of the public. It is very well to stamp with the epithets *bourgeois* and *perruque* those who could not muster up admiration for the horrors of *La tour de Nesle* or of *Marion Delorme*; but, after all, the *bourgeois* contribute very materially to fill a house, and they crowded to see the vaudevilles and comedies of M. Scribe, whilst they showed the most complete indifference for the eccentricities of romanticism. The truth is that M. Scribe is essentially the dramatist of the French *bourgeoisie*; he has admirably painted its political and patriotic sympathies; his muse has sometimes been derisively called *la muse du pot au feu*; but if this designation is meant to imply that the author of the *Mariage de raison* is the poet of the fireside, we should call it a compliment rather than an affront. M. Legouvé, as an old coadjutor of M. Scribe, very naturally speaks of him in the tone of panegyric; but at the same time he is obliged to acknowledge that two of the most essential qualities of a dramatic writer were wanting in his friend—namely, vigour of style and depth in the delineation of character.

The fifth volume of M. du Camp's¶ work on Paris treats of a

* *L'année scientifique et industrielle*. Par Louis Figuier. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

† *La régence*. Par Arsène Houssaye. Paris: Dentu.

‡ *La jeunesse de Mirabeau*. Par Madame Louise Colet. Paris: Dentu.

§ *L'Espagne politique*. Par Victor Cherbuliez. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

|| *Eugène Scribe*. Par E. Legouvé. Paris: Didier.

¶ *Paris, ses organes, ses fonctions et sa vie*. Par M. du Camp. Vol. 5. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

variety of subjects all equally important in the history of a great city. First of all comes a description of the *mont de piété*, or Government pawning establishment, which has so opportunely put a stop to the speculations of the money-lenders whose crimes we read of in *L'aveu*, *Gil Blas*, and *Jacques le fataliste*. The next chapter treats of education, and we may especially refer to the author's excellent remarks on the deplorably low level to which the *enseignement supérieur* has sunk among our neighbours on the other side of the Channel. M. du Camp ascribes this to two causes, both springing from a desire for popularity. In the first place, politics have almost everywhere become engrafted upon literature, and, with the examples of MM. Michelet and Quinet before them, lecturers are naturally tempted to court success by appealing to popular passion. It follows that the Government, in order to avoid embarrassments, appoints professors of second-rate abilities, whom even political discussions could not lift into notoriety. But there is another and less dangerous way of securing popularity—namely, by transforming a lecture into a mere string of anecdotes wittily told, and sensational descriptions of current events. Thus it happened that a late *professeur de littérature étrangère* at the Collège de France crowded his lecture-room by discoursing on the Mormons.

M. Ravaissou's interesting *Archives de la Bastille** are full of documents of the most valuable kind relating to the reign of Louis XIV.; but any historian who makes use of them will do well to be cautious, and to test the evidence they place before him by the information given by contemporary memoirs. This is particularly necessary in the case of the famous Poisson trials which form the subject of the sixth volume. La Voisin appears as the heroine, the central figure; and around her move a number of satellites whose nefarious transactions, fully detailed, make us acquainted with the most loathsome scenes. The worst feature in the whole business is the complicity of persons belonging to the highest classes of French society; thus it is clear that Madame de Montespan took an active part in several attempts to administer poison, and her conduct throughout the whole affair betrays an amount of impudence and perversity which is quite amazing. The revelations of the leading criminals showed that the aristocracy was profoundly corrupt, and although the character of the wretches who gave evidence was not of a nature to inspire much confidence, yet there is a certain amount of truth in their disclosures, as can easily be ascertained by reference to other sources of information. At the same time we must express our belief that some of the assertions are positively calumnious, and no one will admit on La Voisin's authority that Racine was a thief and a poisoner.

The novels lately published on the other side of the Channel require a great deal of weeding, and even those which we may name as comparatively tolerable could hardly be placed in the hands of young people. The indefatigable M. Paul Féval†, for instance, by assigning the history of the Chevalier de Keramour's adventures to the reign of Louis XV., takes the opportunity of giving us sketches of very doubtful society indeed. Delineation of character is one of M. Féval's strong points; witness M. Lebihan himself, a Breton of the old stamp, who firmly believes that he has sprung from the Armorican kings, maintains his rights to the crown of Brittany, and calls the French "a dirty lot." The Chevalier de Keramour, the hero, is made to go through a series of wonderful adventures, protected by a ring in which are to be found a lock of hair and a bit of a hanged man's rope.

In order to enjoy thoroughly M. Deulin's *Contes du roi Gambrinus*‡, one ought to be of Flemish extraction, or at any rate to have lived a long time in Flanders; there is an archaic appearance about these tales which gives them a kind of local colouring, and which reminds us a little of MM. Erckmann-Chatrian's style. Originality, wit, good sense, and humour are, however, cosmopolitan qualities, and therefore we would venture to hope that M. Deulin's charming volume will meet with all the success it deserves; by publishing these delightful novelettes he has conquered for himself in every library a place next to Perrault, Andersen, and Charles Nodier.

M. Tallichet continues in the *Revue suisse*§ his interesting sketch of the origin and development of the Federalist idea; the March number of this periodical contains likewise several miscellaneous articles of much merit, and amongst others the translation of a Slavonic poem on Switzerland.

* *Archives de la Bastille*.—Documents inédits, recueillis et publiés par F. Ravaissou. Vol. 6. Paris: Durand.

† *Le chevalier de Keramour*. Par Paul Féval. Paris: Dentu.

‡ *Les contes du roi Gambrinus*. Par M. Charles Deulin. Paris: Dentu.

§ *Bibliothèque universelle, et Revue suisse*. Mars 1874. Lausanne: Bridel.

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